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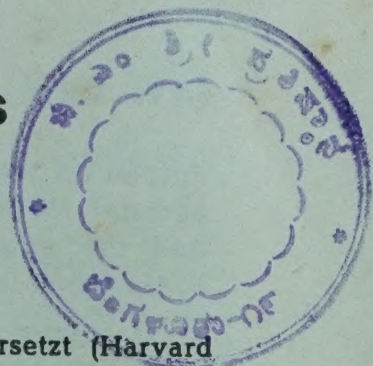
The journal will be a biannual in English to be published in the first week of January and June each year.

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The manuscripts of articles should be submitted in *triplicate* typed double space with wide margins. Language date should be underlined with meanings in inverted commas. The systems of footnoting and listing of bibliography will be those adopted in *Language*. The article, if theoretically important will be treated as in *Current Anthropology* and published with comments and replies. Fifty offprints will be issued free of cost to the authors. Classical papers which are out of print will also be republished if there is demand.

RIGVEDIC LOANWORDS

F.B.J. KUIPER, LEIDEN



Abbreviations: Geldner: Der Rig-Veda übersetzt (Harvard Oriental Series vols. 33, 34, 35); Kittel: Kannaḍa — English Dictionary, Preface; Mayrhofer: Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen; Myth: F. B. J. Kuiper, An Austro-Asiatic Myth in the Rigveda (Mededelingen der Kon. Ned. Akademie van Wetenschappen, deel 13, no. 7); Neisser: Zum Wörterbuch des Rigveda, 2 vols.; Pischel: Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen; PMW: F. B. J. Kuiper, Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit (Verhandelingen der Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wetensch. N.R. LI, No. 3); Pokorny: Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch; TPS: Transactions of the Philological Society, Cambridge; Turner: A comparative and etymological Dictionary of the Nepalese Language; Uhlenbeck: Kurzgefaßtes etym. Wörterbuch der altind. Sprache; Ved. Index: Macdonell and Keith, V.I. 2 vols.; Ved. Variants: Bloomfield-Edgerton(-Emeneau); Wackernagel (-Debrunner): Altindische Grammatik, 4 vols.; Walde-Pokorny: Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen.

Remark: Some diacritical marks had to be omitted for typographical reasons, viz. the indication of nasalization in long vowels of New-Indo-Aryan, and the underlining and dot, indicating the open, resp. „resultant“ vowels of Santali. For the same reason the transliteration system of the Tamil Lexicon could not be followed in all respects.

There was a time, when scholars could believe that the Rigveda was a genuine document of ancient Indo-European civilization. However, the mere linguistic study of the Rigvedic vocabulary is sufficient to show that even this oldest Sanskrit text contains a considerable number of loanwords which probably have been taken from various sources. A systematic study of them has never been published, so far as I know. It would seem possible, however, to collect the words, the foreign origin of which seems probable on morphological or phonetical grounds, even though a convincing etymological explanation cannot be given for many of them. Those as to which difference of opinion will remain, may be expected to constitute only a vanishing minority in comparison with the words of clearly foreign character at least for those scholars who are

agreed on the untenability of Fortunatov's law (which tried to account for Skt. *t*, *d*, *n* by tracing them back to IE. *lt*, *ln*), and the exaggerations of the theory of the occurrence of Prakritisms in the Rigveda¹).

It cannot be denied that an attempt at a linguistical explanation of the Rigvedic loanwords encounters serious difficulties. Still the fact that we have become more acutely aware of them may perhaps be regarded as an indication that some real progress is being made after all. First, the words belong to chronologically different layers. There are words, which we have no right to assign to the Indo-European heritage but which Sanskrit has in common with Old Iranian. This group comprises words of the country life (e.g. *mátsya* -, *m*.

1) It is inevitable that for the next time there should remain a difference of opinion as to the degree, in which loanwords occur, especially in the older language. The problem — as is natural and desirable — is being approached along different lines of research. However, the necessary *choc des opinions* might perhaps become more fruitful, if scholars could agree on a point of general methodological interest. In a recent study on some Skt. words a distinguished scholar, after having referred to a Dravidian etymology which had been proposed, writes: „but since they now have a clear Indo-Aryan etymology, they are native and the borrowing was on the part of Dravidian“. These words are illustrative of a general attitude that is also found in the work of other linguists, so I may be permitted to quote them anonymously. If I understand these words well, they seem to suggest a general methodological principle: whenever an IE etymology can be proposed for a Skt. word, any aboriginal etymology is *eo ipso* ruled out. To such a principle I would take exception. Rather is the situation this in many cases: we are confronted with a bewildering mass of obviously related words occurring in three different linguistic families. In such cases no explanation can be considered definitive, unless it accounts for the total mass of facts. Accordingly a Pan-Indic approach, the necessity of which has been stressed almost simultaneously by Burrow TPS 1946, 30 and the present writer (PMW 9) will often be required. The time when an etymological study of the Sanskrit vocabulary on the basis of IE. comparative linguistics alone could seem justified, belongs to the past. It would plainly be unreasonable to demand that every scholar writing on this subject should be acquainted with the aboriginal languages (and with Iranian linguistics too, the importance of which was rightly stressed by H. W. BAILEY, JRAS 1953, 95 n. 1): in many cases, however, it will not be possible to attain at final results but by a combined effort of different scholars, or by a synthesis of their provisional results, as nobody can afford to cover alone the whole field of study. A better realization of the actual situation would no doubt make discussions on this subject more realistic.

„fish“, *k a ś y á p a -*, m. „tortoise“, *u r v á r ā -*, f. „fertile soil“) as well as names of mythological figures, such as *g a n d h a r v á -*, *í n d r a -*, and perhaps also *ś a r v á -*²⁾. Since no god of the Rigvedic pantheon bears a name of native Indian origin, we must reckon with the possibility that also such names as *M a r ú t -* belong to this group of Indo-Iranian names of deities: the nature of the Avestan tradition excludes, indeed, any *argumentum ex silentio*. To still another layer would belong *í b h a -*, m. „elephant“ (in RS IX. 57. 3?) if the ultimate origin of this word is to be sought in Egypt (see MAYRHOFER 90).

More complicated is the problem of the words which must have been borrowed during the Rigvedic period from the languages of Indian aborigines. In individual cases it is often far from easy to distinguish between Dravidian and Munda: many word-groups are, indeed, so wide-spread in both linguistic families as to make it nearly impossible to decide, on the evidence now available, whether they originate in Munda, or in Dravidian, or perhaps in a third substratum language now died out, which may have influenced both Munda and Dravidian. Some grammatical features of Santali and Sora, indeed, can hardly be explained unless we assume that some substratum language has worked upon the basic Austro-Asiatic system of these languages. On the other hand the question may be raised, whether the Munda languages really constitute a single linguistic family or rather originate in two different groups of Austro-Asiatic languages (as certain correspondences between the Kharia-Sora group and Khasi, which seem to have been foreign to the Kherwari group and Korku, might suggest).

Besides these strictly linguistic problems, however, which will not be discussed here, these loanwords confront us with one of wider interest. In the light of recent research it becomes more and more probable that the catastrophe which put an end to the highly organized Harappa civilization may have been caused by the intrusion of the Aryan tribes into the Indus valley³⁾. If this supposition should turn out to be correct the question arises, what languages may have been spoken in the centres of this civilization. It has often been suggested that this

2) Other words, which are also found in Greek, may even date back to a more remote past, e. g. *p a r a ś ú -*, f. „axt“, *m a n ā -* „a certain weight of gold“.

3) E. g. E. MACKAY, *Early Indus Civilizations* (London 1948), p. 157, and STUART PIGGOT, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B. C.*

may have been Dravidian. Recently, it is true, a rather late date has been proposed for the invasion of the Dravidians into India (see MAYRHOFER 112) but for the next time it seems advisable that linguists should continue to operate with purely linguistic criteria and with the linguistic concept of Proto-Dravidian, whoever may have spoken it. Nor can Munda be discarded *a priori* ⁴⁾ although higher civilizations of Austro-Asiatic peoples seem only to have arisen under foreign influence. In any case, although the Austro-Asiatic component of Munda seems to point to an eastern provenance, the Proto-Munda linguistic area must have extended as far as the Indus-valley at the time of the Aryan invasion ⁵⁾. It would be an over-simplification of the historical facts, however, if we should suppose all foreign Rigvedic words to be explainable from either Dravidian or Munda. Many, indeed, may derive from different but unknown sources ⁶⁾.

In the absence of adequate linguistic criteria, however, we may follow a different line of research. By classing the foreign words according to the various spheres of human life, a provisional estimate of the character and the extension of the aboriginal influence would seem possible — provided the special character of the Rigvedic hymns, whose archaic hieratic language cannot be expected faithfully to reflect the reality of every-day life, is borne in mind. The numerous popular words of foreign origin occurring in the Atharvaveda ⁷⁾ and the other Sāmhitas have as a rule been excluded, except a few cases for which it seemed possible to propose an etymology. It should be emphasized, however, that the chief aim of the notes is not the etymological explanation of the foreign words (which no one who is aware of the present state of these studies will expect) but rather a critical discussion of the morphological or phonetic problems connected with these words. The very numerous names of plants and animals ⁸⁾ and the proper names are not quoted in full as being not essential for our purpose.

4) MAYRHOFER, *Saeculum* 2 (1951) 54 ff.

5) Note the occurrence of words of apparently Munda origin in Burushaski, and of Tibeto-Burman elements in Nahali, and such similarities as Dardic *žu* - Kafari *yū* -: Korku *jō-en* „ate“ (: *jō-m*, Sant. *jōm* „to eat“, which is erroneously equated with Skt. *jē-m*., etc.). But cf. MORGENSTIERNE, NTS 14, 24.

6) E.g. *kīlāla* -, BURROW, TPS 1946, 2 f.

7) Cf. TURNER, Preface VII, Introduction p. XV.

8) See ZIMMER, *Altindisches Leben* 57—72, resp. 79—99 and Vedic Index.

A. NATURE AND MAN.

1. Meteorological phenomena, etc.

ámbara-, n. „atmosphere“ VIII. 8.4 + (see GELDNER'S note), ulkā-, f. „meteor“ IV. 4.2, X.8.4 AS. +; jīmū'ta-, m. „thundercloud“ VI. 75.1 AS. +; nihākā-, f. X. 97.13, TS „shower“ (according to comm. on TS. VII. 5.11.1); nīhārā-, m. „fog, mist“ X. 82.7 AS. +; busā- „vapour, mist, darkness“ X. 27.24 (hapax); jīrī- „quick or flowing water“ (RS. 3), cf. sirī- X. 71.9? (:sirā-, sīrā-, f. „stream, channel“?); in-du-, m. bindú-, m. „drop“.

ámbara-: meaning quite uncertain (see RENOU, J. As. 1939, 390), derivation from *anu-vara- (PW., WACKERNAGEL I, 59) hardly correct. — ulkā-: proper meaning „firebrand“; generally connected with várcas-, Greek ἄβλαξ and ἡλέκτωρ (see e. g. BECHTEL, Lexilogus zu Homer 158 with references), although KITTEL XXVI compared Kann. uluku, ulku „a shining or blazing substance, a meteor“ from ulku- „to shine, blaze“ = Tam. oli-, Tulu uli-, etc.). Since the formative element -uṣī- in ulkuṣī- ŚB. (ulkuṣīmant- AS.) is unknown in Vedic (cf. LINDNER, Ai. Nominalbildung 65) it may be compared with -ūṣa- in the Proto-Munda loanwords pīyūṣa-, n. „biestings“, Pa. tipusa-, n. „a species of cucumber“⁹, rather than deriving ulkuṣī- from ulkuṣ- on the analogy of táviṣ-ī-. Munda origin is indeed indicated by Pkt. ulukhaṇḍa- m. „firebrand“ (Deśin. I. 107, cf. Skt. śikh-aṇḍā- PMW. 148) and by Skt. lex. kalukkā-, f. „meteor“ (WILSON), kulukkaguñjā-, f. „firebrand“, which point to *luk (cf. perhaps Hi. lūkā, lūk etc. „torch“, lūkh „flame, fire, blast“, lūknā „to be scorched“?).¹⁰ Beside ulkā- (if standing for u-luk-)¹¹ an infixed variant u-ēm-luk- is possibly attested in ūlmuka-, n. „firebrand“ ŚB, AB. + — jīmūta-: the thundercloud of the rainy season (e. g. tadetat prāvīṣy uj jīmūtā-plavante KS. 36. 7.: p. 74, 9), which

9) Myth 8ff. (for pīyūṣa-); as for tipusa-, cf. Kharia dimbu „cucumis“ etc., PMW 66, 84. The corresponding Skt. form is trapusa-, n. (like Pa. tipu-: Skt. trapu- „tin“ discussed in Festschr. DEBRUNNER 243, n. 10).

See now, however, also WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER II, 2, 491 (rōpuṣī-, etc. with different accent, but note Goth. jukuzi).

10) With Hi. lūk: Pkt. ulukhaṇḍa-, cf. Pa. lūka: Skt. ulūka-, śu-śulūka- „owl“. — Ullakā- (chāyā: ulkā) in Prabodhac. 96, 6 Bomb. seems to be corrupt: BROCKHAUS reads jālā-ula-, the Trivandrum ed. jālāvalī- (III. 2. 5).

11) ulkā- (<*ulukā- would be parallel to kulpha- (<*kulupha- (Pkt. khuluha-). For the infix -ēm- see W. SCHMIDT, Sprachen der Sakei und Semang 514, COWAN, AO. 16, 183 ff., RAMA-MURTI, Sora Grammar § 129.

pours down in showers (cf. *jīmūtavarṣī parjanyaḥ* as opposed to *saṁtatavarṣī parjanyaḥ*, AB.). The radical element is *jim-*, *jam-* (nasalization of *jip-*, *jap-*), cf. Kharia *jhimir jhimir ḍā no deltaej*, *jhīmīr jhīṭā ḍā no gimte*, *rim(i) jhimi ḍā no gimte*, *jhama jham ḍā gimte* „in dribblets falls the rain“, Santali *j(h)ipir j(h)ipir*, *sipir ṭipic* „drizzling (rain)“, *jhamar jhomor*, *jhomor jhomor* „continuously and heavily (rain)“, *jhupur jhupur* „continuously (rain), to drizzle“, *j(h)ipsi*, *j(h)opso* „to be overcast, cloudy“ etc. Cognate expressions are very common in New Indo-Aryan.¹²⁾ The suffix *-ūta-* (cf. non-suffixed Pkt. *jimha-*, m. „a certain kind of rain-cloud“) alternates with *-ūṣa-*, *-ūra-*¹³⁾ and with *-ūla-*¹⁴⁾. — *-niḥākā-* and *nīhārā-*: derivation of *nīhārā-* from *ni-hṛ-* (PW., JOHANSSON, *Etymologisches und Wortgeschichtliches* 25 with ref., rejected by SCHMIDT, *Pluralbildungen* 396 n., WACKERNAGEL II, 132) fails to convince. Perhaps both words (combined in TS. VII. 5. 11. 1) from **nīh-?*¹⁵⁾ Connected with Kui *nīva* „frost, snow“? — *busá-*: TEDESCO, *Lang.* 22 (1946) 190 rightly compares *āviḥ svāḥ kṛṇuté gūhate busām* X. 27. 24 with *ágūhat tāmō vy ācakṣāyat svāḥ* II. 24. 3 and further with Mar. *bhusē*, n. „drizzling rain, mist“, which confirms the connection of *busá-* with the word for „mist, fog“ in two Iranian Pamir dialects (*Wakhi bis*, *Sariqoli būs*) proposed by UHLENBECK. This excludes GELDNER'S translation „Hülle (Hülse)“ and probably also the identification with Skt. *busa-*, n., Pali *bhusa-* „chaff“ (cf. PMW 98 f.), which can hardly be sufficiently supported by Panj. *bhūhar*, f. „fine rain“ (TURNER 481). Foreign origin is indicated by the phonemes *b* (WACKERNAGEL I. 184) and *ṣ* (ibid. 233), cf. the morphological parallel *bīsa-*, n. „the film or fibre of a lotus plant“ VI. 61. 2 (whose meaning proves it to be a loanword); and it is confirmed by the occurrence of

12) Cf. e. g. Hi. *jham-jham*, *jhamar-jhamar* „steady downpour“, *jhamākā* „beating rain, a heavy shower“, *jhapās* „a sharp shower, driving rain“, Mar. *jhim-jhim* „softly and lightly (of rain)“, and cf. TURNER s. v. Nep. *jhimī-jhimī*, *jhimjhime*, *rimrime*, *rimjhime*, etc. (cf. Santali *ribic ribic* „drizzling, to drizzle“).

13) Cf. *masūṣya-*, Northern form of *masūra-* according to MEYER, *Trilogie der Vegetationsmächte* III, 240.

14) For *gaṇḍūṣa-*, m. : *gaṇḍola-*, m. „a mouthful“ see Myth 10, where I have overlooked the existence of Santali *koḍoć* „to swallow“, *kaḍrać koḍroć*, *kiḍ(r)oć koḍ(r)oć* „gulping, swallowing, to gulp“. (Note Mund. *koroj* „a gulp“ with *r*).

15) Not IE *snih-*! (WACKERNAGEL I, 265).

other loanwords for „fog“ in the Veda ¹⁶). A Prakritic development of *varṣman- to busa- (Tedesco) is in my opinion excluded for the Rigvedic period. The origin is unknown. Note however bus/but in ¹⁷) Malay kabus „mist, hazy“, kabut „fog, mist, vague(ness)“, berkabut, kabur „dim, vague, hazy“ and the nasalized form *mut in Khasi jinmut „mist“, b'ymśai-jinmut „vague“ (cf. Sora móda- „fog“? Kui boṭali, boṭri „dense, murky (fog, smoke)“? For Munda influence in the Pamir see below palāśā- and. cf. P. POUCHA, Arch. Or. 1932. 291, PMW 160).

jīrī-: denotes the trickling soma (IX. 66. 9) as well as the river (II. 17. 2, III. 51. 5, cf. jīrá-); for the first meaning we could compare Sant. jiri hiri, jiro joro „dripping, trickling“, joro „to trickle, leak“, jarkao „to leak out, percolate“, etc. (Austro-Asiatic on account of Central Sakai jor „to fall in drops“, Jakun pějūr „rain“). Cf. Hi. jhar jhar, jhir jhir, and Mar. jhaḍ, jhaḍī „a long continued rain“, etc. Discrimination between Aryan *gh̑ar- and Munda ḍar-/jar- is often difficult. — indu and bindú-: probably connected but unexplained. — Note: Doubtful is the origin of ámbu-, n. „water“ and phéna-, m. „foam“. For ámbu- cf. on the one hand Av. vyāmbura- „name of certain daēva-priests“ („dem Wasser feindlich“? BARTHOLOMAE, Altir. Wb. 1478), on the other hand ki yāmbu- „a cert. water-plant“ (Pa. elambuja-, id.?) Pa. kebuka- „water“, Ved. bṛbūka-, n. „id.“ (?Naigh. 1. 12.). Kurukh amm is isolated in Drav., BLOCH, BSOS 5. 739; ambu survives in Ashkun abú. Variants of phéna- are sphena- (hapax: RENOU, Gr. de la langue véd. 61), which

16) Cf. also Skt. lex. kuhī-, kuhā- „fog, mist“: Assam. kowā-mowā and Skt. lex. kuheḍī-, kuheḍikā-, kuhelikā-: Mar. kuhaḍē (TURNER kuiro), and finally Hi. kuhāsā (also in Sant.: kuhas, khuas, beside kuhṛa). The variation -aḍ-/a-s- in the suffix points to a foreign origin. Since the original meaning of Skt. kuhū-, f. „the personified New Moon“ AS may have been „darkness“ (cf. the later specialization of the meanings of rākā and sinīvālī-), it is likely to be related to these words. (Cf. Burushaski goa, ṡua?). [See now MAYRHOFER, Et. Wb. 249].

17) For lexical correspondences between North-Indian and Indonesian languages cf. e.g. Nep ḍhoknu „to bow“: Jav. ḍoko (Burush. ḍuḍūñ „stooping“: Kharia hinduñ „to stoop“ PMW 163 below); Balti Purik duk- (cās) „to sit, dwell, live“, Deuri Chuliya dudu „to sit“ (also in Southern Munda: Kharia ḍoko, Juang doko „to sit“, cf. Sora dakú „to be, to stay“?): Cham ḍòk, Malay duduk „to sit, dwell“, Sunda dumuk „to dwell“; Purik bras, Burushaski, Dumaki brās „rice“: Malay bēras. Is there any historical connection between Hi. bhinsār „early morning“, Mundari binsāria „early morning (dance)“ and Batak binsar „to rise (the sun)“? Cf. So. sār „to dawn“, sarsār, ēsār- „morning“.

is paralleled by *sth*, *sph* in other loanwords (see Festschr. DEBRUNNER 248 ff.), and class. *pheṇa-*: the specific Indian evidence points to Munda, rather than IE., origin (see Myth 9, PMW. 163). But note Osset. *fiŋg*.

2. „night“.

śarvarī-, f. (in *apiśarvarā-*, n. „early morning“ III. 9. 7, VIII. 1. 29) and śirīṇā-, f. II. 10. 3.

For śarvarī- see below, p. 170 (śābāla-). — Note: *mókī-*, f. II. 38. 3 and *rāmī-*, f. II. 34. 12 (also *rāmyā-*, *rāmā-*) seem to be Aryan kennings (But cf. Nep. *ram rami* „twilight“, *rāme-rumi*).

3. Sea:

sāgara-, m. X. 89. 4 (unexplained).

4. Plants and animals:

For many words Dravidian or Munda etymologies have been proposed. A few additional suggestions may here be inserted.

palāśā-, n. „leaf of a tree“ (only in *apalāśā-* X. 27. 14 and *supalāśā-* X. 43. 4), since ŚB AB also name of the *Butea frondosa*, the older name of which (viz. *parṇā-*) seems to be a calque linguistique. From Munda *palha* „leaf“ (Sant. *palha*, cf. Mund. *palhao* „sprouting of new leaves after the branch of a tree has been cut“), with many Austro-As. cognates, e. g. Khasi *slá*, Mon *sla*, *lha*, Bahnar *hla*, Sué, Boloven *hlà*, Jarai *holà*, Chréai *hola*, Central Sakai *slāu*, etc. Wakhi *palc* „leaf“ may be one of the old borrowings from Munda in this Iranian Pamir dialect (cf. *busā-*). A much younger borrowing is apparently Mar. *pālā*, *pālē* „leaves, foliage“, cf. *pālejñē*, *pālavñē* „to shoot out new foliage“ and the „echo-word“ *olē pālē* „grass or leaves for cattle“ (~ Hi. *ālā pālā*, Korku *ara pala*, *ara para*). For prefix *pa-* cf. Sant. *pa-ṭup*¹⁸), Korku *pa-rub* „to uproot“ (: Ho *tub*, *rub*, id.), Sora *pá-lud* „to slip (v. i.)“ (: Mon *lōt* „to fall down from weakness“, Khmer *la-lūt*, *ra-lūt*, Stieng *rō-lut* „abortion“). — *pippala-*, m. (Pa. *pippala-*) „*ficus religiosa*“ and *pippalī-*, v. l. *piṣpalī-* „berry“ (AS.) may be the same word as *pippalī-*, f. (Pa. *pippalī-*) „long pepper“, if both fruits are named from their richness in seeds, or their swollen form. Cf. the etymologies proposed for *udumbāra-* (PMW 23 ff.), *dāḍima-* and *piṇḍīra-* (PMW 83 f.). With *pippala-*: *phāla-* we might compare *puppuṭa-*: *poṭika-* (PMW. 146 n. 37). — *plakṣā-* m., Pa. *pilakkhu-* and class. *parkaṭī-*, f. „*ficus infectoria*“ may be traced back to **pčlak-* (a) s and **parak-aṭ* (*prakṣā-*

18) Sant *paṭuṭ* beside *paṭup* must be young (or incorrect?).

TS. is worthless). But Kharia (Hi.) *poṛho*, id. must be a different word, cf. Sant. *poḍo*, Mund. *poḍ(h)o* (and *puṭka*!). — *bálbaja-*, m. „a kind of grass, Eleusine indica Gärtn.“ (in *balbajastukā-* VIII. 55. 3: Vāl. 7) is to be connected with *bajā-* (AS. VIII. 6. 3 etc.), cf. WACKERNAGEL I, 184 and Pa. *pabbaja-* : *babbaja-*. Prefix *bal-*, which excludes relationship with Greek *βολβός*, Latin *bulbus* etc. (JOHANSSON, KZ. 36, 344 f.). Is Sant. *backom* „sabai grass“ a reborrowing from Aryan **bajaka-* (cf. *matkom* from Skt. *mādhuka-*)? ^{18a}) — *libujā-*, f. „creeper“ X. 10. 13 AS PvB, whose non-IE. appearance was acknowledged by de Saussure (cf. also MACDONELL, Ved. Gr. 45) has also some variants which suggest a foreign origin, cf. the vv. ll. *lubujā-*, *limbujā* (pw.: *lubajā-*) Kauś. S. 35,2 and Pa. *labujā-* „Artocarpus Lacucha“ (cf. *lakuca-*, *lakaca-*, *likuca-*, id.), None of the IE etymologies proposed by de Saussure, MSL. 5 (1884) 232 (rejected by BERNEKER, Slav. et. Wb. 727), CHARPENTIER, KZ. 40, 436 ff., MO 13, 34 (rejected by WALDE, Lat. etym. Wb. and PETERSSON, KZ. 46, 147), PETERSSON, op. c. 146 f., and TEDESCO, JAOS 67 (1947), 88 carries conviction ¹⁹). — *śimśumāra-*, m. „Schnabeldelphin, Platanista Gangetica“ ²⁰) I. 116. 18 AS TS JB is obviously the older form of *śiśumāra-* (VS MS KS ASPaipp. TA), which owes its origin to popular etymology. The older form survives in Pa. *sumsumāra-*, Accordingly all etymologies which start from Skt. *śiśu-* (lastly THIEME, ZDMG 96, 418 ff.) are ill-founded. It might contain a reduplicated element *śi-* and a root-word *śumar* ²¹) but the Dictionnaire tamoul-français (Pondichéry 1855) ²²), the Dictionary by V. VISVANATHA PILLAI (Madras 1921) and the Tranquebar Dictionary of 1933 record the Tamil words *kiñcumam*, *kiñcumāram* and *kiñci* „crocodile“. However these forms (not quoted in the Tamil Lexicon!) hardly represent an older non-palatalized form of *śimśumāra-*, although they suggest that *-āra-* is a derivational suffix.

18a) (But cf. Mund. Ho *bad'com*!).

19) Against Tedesco's derivation form **pari-bhujā* it should be observed that aphaeresis is insufficiently supported by the isolated instance Pkt. *ḍhilla-* : *siḍhila-* (*ḍhilla-* is rather a Munda word, PMW 160), that deaspiration of intervocalic *bh* is unparalleled, and that the occurrence of the verb *pari-bhuj-* in the same texts where *libujā-* is attested rather militates against this explanation. Cf. *lubajā-*.

20) LUDERS, ZDMG 96, 16 ff.

21) See below *pí-ppala-*, etc. and cf. *śuśulūka-* : *úlūka-* „owl“.

22) Anonymous, but the second edition of 1895 bears the names of L. DUPUIS and L. MOUSSET.

5. Man and Woman.

pūruṣa-, pūrūṣa, m. „man“ (fem. puruṣī- only VII. 102, 2); ménā-, f. „wife, female“ (amenā- V. 31. 2); kumārā-, m. „child, boy, youth“ (also kumārakā-, cf. dual kumārīṇā beside putrīṇā in VIII. 31. 8).

pūruṣa- and *pūrṣa- (paúr (u) ṣeyeṇa X. 87. 16? cf. OLDENBERG ad I. 53. 10), which is supposed to underlie Pa. posa- (WACKERNAGEL I. 56) are not sufficiently explained by any of the IE etymologies proposed by JOHANSSON (see WACKERNAGEL I. 56), E. LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 305 (*pu-vṛṣa-), THUMB-HIRT, Handb. des Skt. 499 (pu-: Gr. πού-λιμος), SCHEFTELOWITZ, KZ. 53, 255 (*per-usa-; Lat. pario) and WACKERNAGEL, Gnomon 6 (1930) 458 ff. (: Lat. parricida). Neither Prakritic svarabhakti (ved. dhūruṣāh- in one manuscript of TS., dhūruṣādām TB, cf. WACKERNAGEL I, XVIII), nor elision is sufficiently supported by evidence. If Munda *koṛo „man“ (Sant. hoṛ, Mund. hoṛo, Ho ho, Korku koro) is a cognate of Mon tru' „male“, Khasi brīw „man (from *bērau? cf. SCHMIDT, Grundz. einer Lautl. der Khasi-Sprache p. 718 and PMW 132), ko- must be a prefix. The existence of a word *puṛu with a labial prefix (like Khasi brīw) may perhaps be inferred from Kharia kodpoṛú (kodpuṛú) „mān (distinguished from woman)“ and the tribal name Pūrú-I. 108. 8 (properly „the men“? Cf. hoṛko „the Santals“, korku „the Korkus“, etc.). If so, pūruṣa- would be to pūrú- what ulkuṣī- is to ulkā- (not like mānuṣa-: mānu-!). However, pūruṣa- is also the oldest Vedic term for ψυχή (ARBMANN, MO. 21, 134; 148) and pūruṣam caúṣadhīnām X. 51. 8 seems to mean „the seed of the herbs“ (vīryam, retaḥ, see CALAND AO 10, 30 f., HILLEBRANDT, Lieder des Rigveda 18 n. 2). Is this a secondary meaning? ²³⁾ — ménā-: also the female of animals (I. 121. 2, X. 111. 3); no doubt a popular word like aṅganā- in later Skt. (cf. Dumaki mēli „wife“, Chepang (Nepal) mīrū „woman“??). — kumārā-: cf. NEISSER I, 62 n 1. Primary meaning „tender“ (tāruṇaḥ) is preserved in su-kumāra- and komala- (cf. kumāras

23) Infixation of (ě) r (as in Sora pērēsij- „childhood“: pēsij- „child“) need hardly be considered because of the late date of the form without r (posa- beside porisa-). The function of the r-infix in Kherwari is not clear (see BODDING, Materials for a Santali Grammar I, 31 and cf. Sant. beret', Mund. birid „to raise, erect“: Korku bit' „to rise“, but Kharia berod „to get up, rise“). For Sora see Ramamurti, A Manual of the So:ra: (or Savara) Language p. 46. AICHELE's suggestion to derive in this way Sant. purus from pos „nourishing“ (in REITZENSTEIN-SCHAEDER, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus 1926, p. 84 n. 2) is absurd as both words are clearly Aryan loanwords.

taruṇaḥ AG 2. 8. 16 etc., Suparṇādhya. 8. 1; and komyā-I. 171. 3, if meaning „smooth, lithe“). Possibly connected with Tel. koma „the young“, gōmu „bloom, freshness of hue“, komaru „juvenility, prime, bloom“, komarāru- „to bloom“, Tam kommai „youth“. Or rather with Tam. kumai- „to tread down, tread out into a mash, to beat or pound in a mortar“, Kann. kummu- „to beat with a pestle to powder“, etc.? (Cf. Skt. tárūṇa- ~ Gr. τερούνης-τερουμένος 'όνος, mṛdú- „soft, tender“, Russ. mólod „young“ ~ mṛdnāti „crushes, smashes“, Sant. reset' „to crush, squash; tender, juicy“, Tam. kuLa „young, tender“, kuLantai, kuLavi „babe“ ~ kuLai- „to mash, reduce to pulp“, etc.).

6. Parts of the body: many words occur only in X. 163; for their meaning cf. Vedic Index II, 358 ff. (where many more words from the later Vedas are registered).

aṣṭhīvántāu (du.) „knee-caps“ VII. 50. 2 X. 163. 4; ukhá- (n. ?) „hip“ in ukhacchíd- „lame“ IV. 19. 9; uṣṇihā- (plur.) „cervical vertebrae“ X. 163. 2; oṇí- „arm“ (RS. 4; see NEISSER I, 197), kakāṭa- „part of the human occiput“ (only in reṇúkakāṭa- „having a dusted head“ VI. 28. 4); kīka-sa-, plur. „vertebrae“ (or „ribs?“) X. 163. 2; kukṣí-, m. „belly“ RS +; kulphá-, m. „ankle-bone“ VII. 50. 2 (gulphá-AS. etc.); chúbuka-, n. „chin“ X. 163. 1; jaṭhāra-, n. „belly, womb (plur. entrails)“, RS AS. +; jatrá-, plur. „cervical cartilages“ VIII. 1. 12; śépa-, m. „penis“. Several other words allow no certain conclusion (see below). See also p. 179.

aṣṭhīvánt-: from *aṣṭhi- (like śáktivant-)? WAK-KERNAGEL, GN. 1909 52. Cf. aṣṭhīlā- „globe, ball, round pebble“. The IE etymologies (for references see LIDÉN, Studien z. ai. und vgl. Sprachgesch. 83) are palpably incorrect. If aṣṭhī- is a Sanskritization of *aṭṭhī-, it might be ultimately related to āṇḍā- (So. adre) „egg“. See also MAYRHOFER 62 (: aṣṭ[h]i- „seedgrain“?). — ukhá-: most of the forms attested may be referred to a neutral stem (e.g. ukhé KS MS). Burrow, TSP. 1945, 85 compares Tam. ukkam „waist“, okkal (ukkal) „side“, okkalai (ukkalai) „hips“, Tel okka „hip, waist“, etc. — uṣṇihā-: as a name of a metre also uṣṇih- AS. + (nom. uṣṇik AS VS), but hardly an old IE stem in a consonant. Cf. báṣk-ihā- beside baṣk-áya- and the Skt. words in -aha- (kalaha-, laḍaha-, maṭaha-, Pkt. vodraha-). But *uṣṇi- (formally identical with the radical element of uṣṇīṣa-, mn. „turban“ AS +) is queer. See also MAYRHOFER¹¹⁴). — kakāṭa-: cf. kṛ'kāṭa- AS (but kakāṭikā- AS means „facial bone“, Ved. Index. II. 359). See PMW. 29f. — kīkasa-: „prsthāsthigatā gulikāḥ“ (comm. ad TS. VII. 3. 16. 1), or „cartilagines costarum“ (PW), „ribs“ (GELDNER). Probably forma-

tion like *pí-ppala-*, etc. and connected with *kaśeruka-*, mn. „spine“ (lex. *kaseruka-*, *kaśeru-*, *kaseru-*, mn.). — *kukṣí-*: there has always been a great variety of popular words for „belly“ in Indo-Aryan, most of them being loanwords, but there are no clear formal criteria in *kukṣí-* pointing to foreign origin. — *kulphá-*: loanword on account of *gulphá-* AS KS + and Pkt. *khuluha-*, m. (Deśīn. 2, 75), which point to **kulup-*/**gulup-*. Cf. perhaps Tam. Mal. *kulampu* „hoof of an animal“ etc. (BURROW, TPS. 1946, 17)? Note also Skt. *ghuṭā-*, *ghu(ṇ)ṭikā-*. — *chúbuka-*: in the later language *cubuka-*, *cibuka-*, proper meaning „projecting“, see PMW. 155, n. 58. Perhaps umlauted from **cēbuk*/**tēbuk*, cf. Khasi *tymoh* „chin“ (from **tēmok*). — *jaṭhāra-*: the classical etymological connection with Goth. *kilthei* „womb“ (IE **guelth-*) is phonetically impossible (for *kāṭā-*, *kévaṭa-* see below); nor can *jartu-*, m. „vulva“ (only in Uṇādisūtra!) represent the older form of the Vedic word. — *śépa-*: primary meaning „tail“ (X. 105. 2? cf. *śúnaś cic chépaṃ* V. 2. 7: *śúnaḥśépaḥ* I. 24. 12f. and *mayū'raśépya-* VIII. 1. 25 with GELDNER'S note), see also Hj. FRISK, MO. 30, 84f.). The variants *śépha-* (v. l. in TS VII. 3. 16. 2, Mhbh.), lex. *chepya-*, Pkt. *chepa-*, *cheppa-*, *chippa*, n. suggest a foreign origin (for the semantic development „tail“ > „penis“ cf. Skt. *lāṅgūla-*, Av. *duma-*, m. „tail“ ~ Old H. Germ. *zumpfo* „penis“ and SCHEFTELOWITZ, IF 33, 142). Cf. the parallel case of Pkt. *chāva-* ~ Skt. *śāva-* „young of an animal“ (PMW. 67). Etymological connection with *śiphā-*, f. „fibrous root“ (HIRT, BB 24, 236, UHLENBECK) is phonetically and semantically improbable („schweifende, wedelnde Bewegung“? FRISK) and the IE etymologies (Lat. *scipio*, cf. e. g. UHLENBECK PBB. 27, 131, Gr. *σχιπτρον* REICHELt KZ 46, 338f., Latvian *sipsna* „starke Rute“ ENDZELIN KZ 44, 58) fail to convince. Nor can *chippa-* be derived from Drav. *cippa* (= Kann. *cippa*, Tel. *cippa-kasuvu* „the fragrant grass *Andrapogon schoenanthus*“?), as proposed by P. V. RAMANUJASWAMI in his glossary on Deśināmamālā, p. 36. — Note. *múkha-*, n. „mouth“ is ambiguous, Drav. origin of *vriś-*, f. „finger“ very doubtful (cf. Av. *urvaēs-*).

B. DOMESTICAL SPHERE.

1. House.

kúṭa-, „house“ (?) I. 46. 4 (cf. NEISSER II. 60); *kulā'ya-*, n. „nest“ AS (in *kulāyín-* VI. 15. 16, *kulāyayát* VII. 50. 1).

kúṭa-: cf. *kuṭi-*, *kuṭumba-*, etc. from Dravidian for references see BSOS 9, 999). — *kulā'ya-*: Tam. *kūṭu*, (Tel. Kann. *gūḍu*), *kuṭampai* „nest“, from *kūṭu-*, *ku Lu* „to assemble“; see BURROW, BSOAS 11, 139, n. 1, TPS 1946, 23.

2. Implements.

kāvandha-, m. „barrel, cask” V. 85. 3, VIII. 7. 10, IX. 74. 7 (cf. *kabandhīn-* V. 54. 8); *kalāśa-*, m. „pot, water-jar”: *kuṇḍā-*, m. „pot, vessel” (in *kuṇḍapāyaya-* VIII. 17. 13); *kóśa-*, m. cask, bucket”; *kāśī-*, m. „a handful” III. 30. 5, VII. 104. 8, VIII. 67. 10; *khārī-*, f. „a certain measure of grain” (GELDNER: Eimer) IV. 32. 17; *gārtā-*, m. „seat of a war-chariot”, *ūrḍara-* „a measure for holding grain”, „garner”? (*Sāyaṇa*, GELDNER: „granary”) II. 14. 11.

kāvandha-: „barrel, cask” RS and „belly” AS contains the Proto-Munda prefix *ka-* and the root-word **baṇḍa*, borrowed into Skt. as *bhāṇḍa-*, n. „pot” and *phāṇḍa-*, n. „belly”, just as the homophone *kavandha-*, *kabandha-* mn. „headless trunk” (in the younger Vedic prose) is a prefixed form of Pkt. *bhaṇḍa-* „decapitated”. The two meanings „jar” and „belly” are found in many words of this group (PMW. 163)²⁴. The Pa. word *bhāṇakā-* „jar” is of special interest on account of *ambhṛṇā-*, m. „tub, Soma-trough” VS. 19. 27 ŚB, which is identical with *ambhaṇa-*, m. „body of the lute” AA 3. 2. 5 Śāṅkh. A. 8. 9 (in both passages equated to the stomach, *udaram*, of the human body!). For the semantic relations cf. Skt. lex. *kolambakā-*, m. „body of the lute” (: Pa. Pkt. *kolamba-*, m. „a pot”, PMW 26), *piśīla-vīṇā-* (: *piśīla-* „a wooden vessel or dish”) and VON SCHROEDER, *Indiens Lit. u. Cultur* 755. The word survives in Pa. *ammaṇa-* (*ammaṇakā-*, v. l. *ampaṇakā-*) „a trough, a certain measure of capacity”, Tam. *ampaṇam* „a grain measure, a kind of lute”. The variation *ambh-/amp-* excludes IE. etymologies as proposed for *ambhṛṇā-* by MLADENOV, KZ 44, 37 (< **ambhi-bhṛ-ṇa-*!) and for *ambhaṇa-* by KEITH, Ait. Āraṇyaka 254 n. 1. (< **anu-bhaṇa-*). If my suggestion that *kuṇḍṛṇācī-*, f. „house-lizard” I. 29. 6 stands for **kuṇḍaṇācī-* (*-ṛṇ-* being a Sanskritization of the independent cerebral in *-ṇa-*)²⁵ is correct, *ambhṛṇā-* is the higher Sanskritized form, and *ambhaṇa-* the popular form, of the same word **a-mbaṇa*²⁶, a prefixed variant of Pa. *bhāṇakā-*. Skt. *bhāṇḍa-* „vessel, pot” also means „musical instrument” (*veṇānām bhāṇḍavādanam* Manu 10.

24) RENOUE identified the word for „belly” with *kabandha-* „headless trunk” (cf. PMW 100) which was accepted by MAYRHOFER; but the Indian evidence (cf. PMW 163!) seems rather to speak in favour of the explanation here suggested.

25) Festschr. DEBRUNNER. Somewhat different are the instances discussed in Vedic Variants II § 631, OERTEL, Festg. JACOBI 25, Zur Kap. K. Samhitā 36.

26) Or **baṇa*? Cf. *bhāṇ-* and Sant *bahni* „a large earthenware jar”.

49). Is *Ambhīṇī-* „teacher of Vāc” (*Āmbhṛṇī-* „Vāc”) the same word? — *kalāśa-*: for the exact meaning cf. HILLEBRANDT, *Ved. Myth* 2nd ed. I, 432 f., NEISSER II, 55. Connection with Gr. *κάλυξ*, Lat. *calix* is not very plausible, that with Gr. *σκαλλίων* and *σκαλῖς* Hes., Umbr. *skalçeta* (VON PLANTA, *Osk. Umbr. Gramm.* I, 473) a remote possibility, whereas Skt. *karaka-*, m. „water-pot” (Mhbh. Rām.) belongs to a word-group which never has *l* (PMW 55 f.). Perhaps from Dravidian: Tam. Mal. *kalam* „vessel, cup, plate”, Kann. *kala* „a pot, vessel”, Tulu *kara*. The suffix *-śa-* (see below *kūliśa-*) must represent *-ca-/-sa* (like *-ca-* in *kuṭīca-ka-*: Tam. *kuṭīcai*, and *-ja-* in *kulija-*: Tam. *kuLiçi*). — *kuṇḍā-*, n., from Dravidian; see BSOS 9, 691 ff., BURROW BSOAS 11, 138. — *kóśa-*: cf. *kośa-* in the later language (perhaps from Drav. **kōL*, a variant of *gōla-*, *kuṇḍa-??* Cf. *kaluśa-* from Tam. *kaluL* etc.). — *gārta-*: Hi. Mar. *gādī* Nep. *gādi* show it to be a loanword (from Dravidian, cf. Tel. *gaddē*, Kann. *gaddige*, etc., BURROW, BSOAS 12, 377. The *r* is perhaps due to Sanskritization, cf. Festschr. DEBRUNNER). — *ūr-dara-*: not convincing SCHEFTELOWITZ, KZ 53, 259. Note. Of some other words the origin is quite uncertain, e. g. *camasā-*, m. „vessel for drinking, wooden cup”, *camū-*, f. „grahapātra, cup” (HILLEBRANDT, *Ved. Myth.* I, 418, 420, OLDENBERG ZDMG 62, 459), *carú-*, m. „pot, kettle”, *sthivī-* „bushel, bag?”.

3. Food.

apūpā-, m. „cake” III. 52. 7 X. 45. 9; *odaná-*, n. „rice-dish” VIII. 69. 14; 77. 6, 10 (and perhaps also VIII. 63. 9 if *vyódana urú kramiṣṭa* is to be read *vyódaná*, see GELDNER); *karambhā-*, m. „a kind of gruel” (cf. *karambhín-*, *karambhā'd-*); *kīlā'la-*, m. „some kind of milk-product” AS VS (in *kīlālapā-* X. 91. 14); *pīyū'sa-*, m. „biestings”; cf. also *pīṇḍa-*, n. „lump” (of flesh I. 162. 19; *hiraṇyapiṇḍā-*, m. VI. 47. 23).

apūpā-: since Mhbh. Rām. Suśr. *pūpa-* (also in Pa. Pkt. NIA, see TURNER *puwā*); *apūpā-* is apparently a prefixed form (cf. *a-mbhaṇa-*: *bhāṇaka-*) which points to borrowing from Munda (cf. Sora *pupū-* „cake, bread”). Munda instances of prefix *a-* are Sant. Mund. *alañ*: Korku *Kharia lañ* „tongue”; Korku *apai*, Mund. *apia*: Sant. *pe, pea* „three”; Sant. *apalhēt'*: *popalhet'* „indistinctly”; *aṭok* „impediment”: *ṭek* „to hinder”; *atu* „to flow, float”: Korku *tu*, *Kharia tu-ḍā* „to float”; Sant. *aḍo* „to urinate”: Mund. *ḍo-ḍo* (and Mund. Ho *ḍu-ki*); Sant. *asi* „to ask”: Besis *sōi* „to demand”; Sant. *ato* „village”: Nicobar *katō* „to remain”; Sant. *alaṛ* „to fondle, pet, spoil”: Skt. *lāḍayati*, id.; Sant. *an'jom* (Korku *anjom*, pret. *anjo-en*): Palaung

jū „to listen”; Sora aśaṇ „bitter”: Palaung tsaṇ, id. Khasi ksaṇ „bile” (cf. Sora pisaṇ „astringent”). The relation apūpá-: pūpa- is parallel to alābu-: lābu-. — odaná-: only used in connection with the boar-myth (see Myth 17). — karambhá-: „flour or meal mixed with curds” (Apte), from Drav.? (Tam. kuLampu „a mixture, liquid or thick consistency, thickened curry, broth”, etc. BURROW, TPS 1946, 22) Doubtful. — kilā’la-: later kilāṭa-, m. „a kind of cheese” (Suśr., lex). Cf. kilā’lodhnī páyasvatī AS XII. 1. 59 „with the sweet drink in her udder”. A word of NW India, cf. Khowar kilāl., Yidgha kirāṭ „cheese”, Burushaski kilāy „curds made from biestings” (BURROW TPS 1946, 2f.). For correspondences in Prasun, Bashkarik etc. see MORGENSTIERNE, AO. 18 (1940), 238, NTS 15 (1949), 260, 16 (1951) 120. Note Ashkun cilā „cheese”. — pīyū’sa-: cf. Sant. piṛus (<*piṇḍ-us), Myth 8f. — piṇḍa-: see PMW. 142 ff. (with references).

4. Words particularly used in connection with Soma.

ulū’khala-, (n) „mortar” I. 28. 6 +; ṛjīśin- (ṛjīśá- I. 32. 6) „drinking the dregs of Soma”; karotarā- „sieve, strainer” I. 116. 7 VS; camriṣ- „ladle” (?) I. 56. 1 cf. cam-rīśá- I. 100. 12 = ?), mūsala-, mn. „pestle” (since AS). Here belong also indu-, camū’- and pīyū’sa- discussed above.

ulū’khala-: a Dravidian loanword according to J. BLOCH, BSOS 5, 742, BURROW, TPS 1946, 22, but the details remain obscure: cf. on the one hand class. Skt. udūkhala- (Pa. udukkhala-, AMg. udukkhala-, udūhala- which resemble Tam. ulakkai „wooden pestle, pounder”, on the other hand Pkt. okkhala-, ohala-, AMg. ukkhala- (Hi. ukhal, ūkhal, etc.), which resemble Kann. okkal „to thrash”. It is neither certain that udūkhala- is from ulūkhala- through dissimilation (WACKERNAGEL I, 181, LUDERS, Philologica Indica 78), nor that ukkhala- must be traced back to udūkhala- (PISCHEL §§ 66, 148), nor even that both words are related to each other (cf. Kann. āla-batta „mortar and pestle?”): „ulūkhala ... remains a puzzle” (A. MASTER, BSOAS 12, 356). Note also Sant. tok, Mund. Ho Korku tuku „a wooden pestle”, of which u-dukḥ might be a prefixed form(?) Cf. u-ruṇḍa- Mhbh. III. 198. 35 ~ ruṇḍa-, and u-dumb-āra-, PMW. 23 ff. — ṛjīśá-: for the meaning cf. NEISSER I, 188, GELDNER ad I, 32, 6 and HILLEBRANDT, Ved. Myth. I, 474 f., 475 n. 2. Formally the word may be IE as well as Munda, see MAYRHOFER 120 f. — mūsala-: later also muśala-, muṣala- (surviving in NIA, see TURNER s. v. musal), means since Mhbh. Rām. „club”. In Pkt. also mūsala-, cf. Hi. mūsāl. Neither the meaning, nor the vowel of Kann. mase, masagu „to rub, grind, polish”, Gondi masit „to sharpen” (BLOCH, BSOS 5, 741, L’indo-aryen 324)

agrees; cf. Mund. *muṣṛā* „a club used in beating down the bundle of paddy when being tied up“. Root *mus-* „to beat“? Cf. PISCHEL 62 and PMW 146 n. 35. —

5. Ornaments, hair-dressing, etc.

opaśá-, m „crown“ (GELDNER: Krone, Kopfputz); *ka-parda-* „braided hair“ (in *cātuṣkapardā yuvatīḥ* X. 114. 3. = *catuḥśikhāṇḍā* TB); *káñkata-*, m. „comb“ (AS+; „scorpion“ ? I. 191. 1); *kurīra-*, n. „hair-net“ (BLOOMFIELD) X. 85. 18 AS; *kṛśana-*, n. „pearl“ I. 35. 4 X. 68. 1 AS (in AS also adj. = *kṛśanin-* VII. 18. 23); *khādī-*, m. bracelet, ring (worn round the arms and legs) (only RS, except for *hiraṇyakhādī-* ŚŚ), *khṛgala-* (n. ?), „amulet“ (?) II. 39. 4; *māṇi-*, m. „jewel, gem, ornament“ I. 33. 8 (*maṇigrīva-* I. 122. 14); *śikhā-* in *viśikhā-* „having no tuft of hair, bald, unfeathered“ VI. 75. 17 (cf. also *vāraśikha-*, pr. n. VI. 27. 4 f.).

opaśá-: Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17. 65 takes it as synonymous with *kumba-*: o for a va does not occur in the RS.; as PrM. prefix in Pkt. o-*limbhā-* (PMW. 68), but *opaśá-* does not allow a formal analysis. — *kaparda-*: for **ka-paḍa-* ~ *kabarī*, *parparī-* (Festschr. DEBRUNNER 241 ff.). — *káñkata-*: probably a reduplicated formation, root *kat-*; Korku (k o) *kot*, Kharia *ka'ḍ* „to comb“. — *kurīra-*: a head-dress of women (or of a man turned into a eunuch AS VI. 138. 2), often mentioned in connection with *kaparda-*, *opaśá-* (BLOOMFIELD, SBE 42, 538) or *kumba-* (Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17, 64 f.). CALAND, in a note on ĀpŚ X. 9. 5, remarks: „Das Ganze ist demnach eine Art Kopfbedeckung, bestehend aus einem Reif von Bambusrohr mit einem Netz von wollenen Fäden“ (cf. also „Über das rituelle Sūtra des Bauddhāyana“ 1903, p. 59 and the glosses *jālam*, *keśajālam* in the commentaries on Bauddh., resp. on AS.). For the form it may be connected with Skt. lex. *koṭīra-*, m. „diadem, crown“, *koṭīra-* „braid of hair“ (*koṭīraka-* Śṛṅgāratil²⁷), which are derived from Skt. *koṭi-*: Tam. *kōṭi* „end, tip, point“ (lex. also „garland on the head“), cf. Tam. *kōṭīram* „matted hair“, *kōṭu* „summit of a hill, coil of hair“, etc. Skt. *kirīta-* „diadem“ Mhbh. seems to be a different word, and *karīra-* (ĀpŚ) a corruption of the obsolete word. — *kṛśana-*: the meaning „pearl“ (cf. esp. AS IV. 10 and Ved. Index I. 181) is later expressed by *muktā* (*phala-*), (Mhbh. Manu +), a Sanskritization of Pkt. *mutta-* (LUDERS), which I connect with Tam. *muṭṭai* „egg“

27) Cf. the parallel case of lex. *kurīra-*: lex. *kuṭīra-* „sexual union“ (Pkt. *kuḍuccia-* and *kuḍḍia-*; id. Deśin. 2. 41, 75, PISCHEL p. 148) from Dravidian (Tam. *kūṭal*, *kūṭṭam*, *kūṭṭu*, id. from *kūṭu-* „to come together“).

and other Drav. and Munda words (PMW. 147, 163)²⁸). The radical element of *kṛśana-* (which seems to be composed of prefix *kṛ-* and *śana-*) may likewise have meant „thick, globular“, (cf. Skt. lex. *śāni-* „colocynth“?). — *khādi-*: M. MULLER, SBE 32, 120 and NEISSER II 79 wrongly follow *Sāyaṇa* (= *āyudha-* I. 64. 10), whose explanation is based on an incorrect etymology (: *khādṛbhakṣaṇe*). The *khādis*, mentioned beside *srāj-* and *rukmā-* (V. 53. 4; 54. 11), are worn round the neck (? *āmseṣu*, litt. „collar-bones“), the hands and the feet. They were, accordingly, both armlets and anklets (like the *nūpuras* and *keyūras* of later times). Cf. lex. *khaḍu-* m. „ornament worn round the arms and legs“ Pkt. *khaṇḍua-* (v. l. *khalua-*), *Mṛch.* VIII, 24, 4 (: *bāhuvalaya-viśeṣaḥ*, comm.) and PMW. 123. — *khṛgala-*: „amulet“ (GELDNER) or „stick“ (ROTH, BLOOMFIELD)? *Araludaṇḍam* in Kauś. 43.1 speaks in favour of the latter meaning, see Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17, 67. The form suggests Proto-Munda origin (prefix *kṛ-*; see also PMW. 49 f.). Cf. Ved. Variants II § 631. — *māṇi-*: „durchlöcherter Kleinod am Faden hängend“ (= amulet), WEBER, *Omina und Portenta* 317 f., cf. ZIMMER, *Altind. Leben* 53, 263. It further means „glans penis“ and „fleshy excrescence on the neck of a goat“ (lex), cf. *maṇikāḥ* AB VII. 1. 2 (: *maṇisadrśā māmsakhaṇḍāḥ*, comm.). This points to a primary meaning „globular“ („Kügelchen“ PW), which excludes the traditional etymological connection with Lat. *monile*, Old Icel. *men* „necklace“ (WACKERNAGEL I, 194), or with Ved. *mānyā-*, f., Av. *manaōθrī-* „neck“ (FICK I. 110, WACKERNAGEL l. c., BARTHOLOMAE, *Altir. Wb.* 1126). Worthless is SCHEFTELOWITZ's etymology in KZ 53, 252 f. (: *maṇḍa-*). On the other hand there is a word *maṇika-*, m. AG +, *maṇi-* (lex.) „a big water-jar (sort of *bhāṇḍa-*)“, Pa. *maṇika-* „water-pot“, which bears the same relation to Skt. *ka-maṇḍalu-*, m. „water-pot used by ascetics“, as Pa. *bhāṇaka-* „jar“ does to Skt. *bhāṇḍa-* (PMW 163). If, however, *maṇi-* belongs (like *a-mbhaṇ-*) to the large group of words denoting „pot“ and „belly“ (see above p. 149), it would seem justifiable to consider the question whether *maṇi-* „globular thing“ also belongs to this word-family (cf. *muktā-* discussed above). This suggestion is not seriously contradicted by Av. *mani-*, which some scholars hold to occur (in the sense of *minu-* „Halsschmuck“) in *zarenumainiš*, epithet of the *kahrkāsa* (Yt. 14. 33;

28) For Tam. *muttu* „pearl“ LUDERS, *Philologica Indica* 183 n. 4 considered the possibility of borrowing from Prakrit. This is not confirmed by the Dravidian evidence (e. g. BURROW, TPS 1946, 11). In any case I hold the words for pearl (*mutt-*) ultimately to belong to *muḍ-*, *muṭṭ-*, *buḍ-* „a round thing“, PMW 163. Incorrect CALDWELL 464.

16. 13)²⁹). Since the existence of Iran. *mani-* seems not to be supported by further evidence and since *zarenumainiš* may be explained in various ways³⁰), Ved. *mañi-* rather belongs to the category of WACKERNAGEL, §174, b („foreign words with *ṇ*“) than to § 173 („spontaneous cerebralization“). — *śikhā-*: Beng. *ṭiki* „tuft of hair, top-knot, queue“ (PMW 148 f.). Since TS VII. 3. 16. 2 also *śikhaṇḍá-* (: *ūrdhvakeśaḥ* comm.), cf. Ved. Ind. II. 377.

6. Music and musical instruments.

āghāti- „sound of cymbals“ (HILLEBR., GELDNER) X. 146. 2; *āṅgūṣā-*, m. (n.) „praise, hymn“ (*āṅgūṣyā-* RS, *aṅgoṣin-* SV „praising“); *karkarī-*, f. „a kind of lute“ II. 43. 3 (appended hymn), *gārgara-* „lute“ (?) (GELDNER: drum) VIII. 69. 9 hapax; *duṇḍubhī-*, m. „drum“ I. 28. 5, VI. 47. 29 ff. +, *nālī-*, f. „flute, pipe“ X. 135. 7; *piṅgā-* „a certain musical instrument (?)“ VIII. 69. 9 (see Ved. Index I, 524); *bākura-* (adj. *bākurá-*) „wind-instrument“ I. 117. 21, resp. IX. 1. 8; *vāṇá-*, m. „(instrumental) music, voice“; *vāṇī-*, f. „music, sound, voice; plur. choir of singers or musicians“; *sasarpārī-*, f. „war-trumpet (?)“ (GELDNER: Redekunst, Sangesweise ?) III. 53. 15 f.; *kīstá-*, m. „singer“ I. 127. 17, VI. 67. 10. — Note. The name of the *vīṇā-* does not occur before TS KS. Quite uncertain is *kāpā-* X. 40. 3 (see NEISSER II, 57).

āghāti-: cf. *āghāṭá-*, m. „cymbal“ (*yátrāghāṭāḥ karkaryāḥ samvādanti* AS IV. 37. 4), *dārv-āghāṭá-* „wood-pecker“ VS beside *āḍambar-āghāṭá-* VS and *duṇḍubhy-āghāṭá-* SB. „drummer“. Foreign origin cannot be questioned because *ṭ* is older than *t* and cannot be explained from IE (WACKERNAGEL I. 177), because *āghāti-* occurs in the Aranyāni-hymn X. 146, which contains several foreign words (*ciccaká-*, *śakaṭī-*), and because *ghāta-* cannot be

29) „mit „goldenem Halsschmuck“, SPIEGEL, Commentar zum Avesta II, 626 f., DARMESTETER, Le Zend Avesta II 570 n. 43, BARTHOLOMAE, Altir. Wb. 1683, LOMMEL, Die Yäst's des Avesta 139, 157; otherwise GELDNER, Drei Yasht 73: „kampflustig“.

30) See the criticism by HERTEL, Indo-Ir. Quellen und Forschungen VII (1931) 82 n. 1 („sehr unsicher“). Also *zarenu-* „gold“ is not beyond doubt. *Zarenumainiš* may be graphical for the v. l. *zarenumainyuš* (Bartholomae, Grundr. Ir. Phil. I (§ 268, 14). In view of *merēzyumnā* (= *mṛjyāmnāḥ*, B. GEIGER, Festschr. ANDREAS 95 f., cf. BAILEY, Zoroastrian Problems 6) and *zaranumanō* Yt. 11, 5, *zaranumanem* Yt. 10. 47 WESTERGAARD (for **zṛnamna-*), it is possible to take *zarenumainyuš* as **zṛna-manyuš* (cf. Old Pers. *Vinda-farnah-*) or rather perhaps as **zar(a)na-manyuš*. Note *hṛṇānāsya manyáve* I. 25. 2.

explained from IE *g^uh^en-³¹). Note also the use of āghāta- in connection with other foreign words as karkari-, āḍambara- and dundubhi-. The older explanations (WACKER-NAGEL I, 15 and 168) are accordingly to be rejected. Cf. perhaps pari-ghaṭṭayati „strikes“ Śiś. 9. 64, Sora gater „to hurt“? — — āṅgūṣā-: if -ūṣa- is suffixal (as in pīyūṣa-), the root must be āṅ- (cf. Bahnar aṅ „to proclaim“, Khasi kyaṅ, k'aṅ „to cry, to scream“??). — — karkarī- and gārgara-: if both words mean „lute“ we may identify them with Skt. gargara-, gargarī-, karkarī- „water-jar“, markarā-, f. „pot, vessel“, karaka-, m. „water-pot“ (root gar-/kar, see PMW 55f.). Cf. Skt. jhumbarī-, tum-bīvīṇā- (: tumba- „gourd, water-bottle“), Mar. ḍerā „a particular large vessel, a huge paunch, a pot-belly, the bowl of a vīṇā“, and ambhaṇa- (discussed above). — — dundubhi-: PMW 84ff. — — nālī-: cf. naḍā-, m. „a species of reed“ (Myth 14 n. 3). — — bākura-: PMW 93f. — — vāṇā-: in dhāmanto vāṇām I. 85. 10 GELDNER translates „music“ (BENFEY, GRASSMANN „flute“), everywhere else it means „voice“ (GELDNER in VIII. 20. 8, IX. 97. 8, X. 32. 4, cf. M. MULLER, SBE 32, 138), only IX. 50. 1 is doubtful („musical instrument“ OLDENBERG, or „voice and arrow“ GELDNER). Vāṇī- may mean „voice“ in vāṇīḥ ... dhāmantiḥ „die blasenden Chöre“ (Gdn.) III. 30. 10, āṅgūṣāṇām ... vāṇīḥ „Die Stimmen der Loblieder“ IX. 90. 2. The restriction of these words to music is not favourable to the proposed connection with bhan- „to say“ (PMW 32, cf. Tam. paṇi- „to say, speak, declare“). Note Tam. paṇṇu- „to sing in an instrument, as a tune“. — — kīstā-: kīstā'so twice after the caesura, cf. the analogous case rāspināsya I. 122. 4, rāspirāsya V. 43. 14. Did the poets pronounce kīsēta-, rāsēpina-? Unexplained (for kīrin- V. 52. 12, see NEISSER II, 59f. but also below, n. 46. [For kāpā-, see now BAILEY, TPS 1954, 152 ff.]).

C. AGRICULTURAL SPHERE.

1. The Farmer.

kīnāśa-, m. IV. 57. 8 (AS+), kīnāra- X. 106. 10 (hapax) „ploughman“.

The meaning „ploughman“ seems rather certain in IV. 57. 8 (appendix) śunām naḥ phālā vīkṣantu bhūmim, śunām kināśā abhīyantu vāhaiḥ (GELDNER : Pflüger) and in AS VI. 30.1. The meaning „wretched, poor“ (Bhāg. Pur., Gopālaketik. etc.) may be secondary, the farmers belonging to the lowest Aryan social order (kṣīvalā- with !). The endings -āśa- and -āra- may represent two variant

31) See Museum 59 (January 1954), p. 1 against POKORNY, Idg. Wb 492.

forms of a native suffix (cf. *rāspinā-*: *rāspirā-*)³²). Etymology unknown: KITTEL XXVIII refers to Kann. *kīna* „smallness, kin „the state of being below“. An aboriginal word for ploughing is perhaps preserved in *kheṭita-* „ploughed“ (*kheṭitabhūmiḥ* Deśin. 6, 63) and lex. *khaṭa-*, m. „plough“. Cf. Guj. *kheḍavū* „to till, to cultivate“ (: *kheṭayate*, Pūrṇabhadra 244, 18? See HERTEL, p. 292 of his edition [HOS 11]).

2. The Ploughland, etc.

khilyā- m. „waste piece of land“ VI. 28. 2, X. 142. 3.

Unexplained. Obscure is also *sītā-*, f. „furrow“ IV. 57. 6 f. (appendix): hardly derived from Munda *si* „to plough“. — Note. Here we should also have to mention *manū-* in *manā'v ādhi* VIII. 72. 2 (*sīdad dhótā manā'v ādhi*!) IX. 63. 8; 65. 16, if Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17, 88 f. is right in equating it with Beng. *mānā* „a fertile piece of land on either side of a river“. This is more plausible for AS VI. 30. 1 *sārasvatyām ādhi maṇā'v acarkṣuḥ* ~ *kinā'sā āsan marūtaḥ* than for the RS-passages, with are rather inconclusive. However the usual rendering „unter Manu“ (GELDNER) is very strained so that both meaning and accent (sometimes explained as an antique trait, Bonfante RIGI 15, 170, Pedersen, Etudes lituaniennes 22) contrast it with *Mānu-*. If the meaning is „soil“ cf. Tam *maṇ* „earth (as an element), clods of earth“, Tel. *manṇu* „earth, mud, soil, dirt“, Kann. *maṇ* „earth, clay mud, soil, ground“, and note the reading *maṇaú* in the AS.

3. Ploughing, etc.

lāṅgala-, n. „plough“ IV. 57. 4 (appendix); *sīrá-*, n., id. X. 101. 3 f. (*śúnasīrau* IV. 57. 5)³³), *phāla-*, m. „plough-share“ X. 117. 7, IV. 57. 8.

lāṅgala-: from Proto-Munda, Przyluski BSL 24, 118 ff., PMW 127. — *sīrá-*: perhaps from Drav. **sēr*, cf. Gondi *sēr* „plough“, Kui *sēru* „a yoken of oxen“ (like *sīra-* „plough-ox“ Kaus), Tam *ēr*. See BLOCH, BSOS 8, 411—418, P. MEILE, JAs. 1943—45, 84 BURROW, BSOAS. 12, 395. Derivation from IE *sē-* „to sow“ (BLOCH) or Munda *si-* „to plough“ is less plausible. — *phāla-*: not directly from *phal-* „to burst, split“ (UHLENBECK, PERSSON, Beiträge zur idg. Wortf. 803 f., WALDE-POKORNY II, 677), which is late (Mhbh.) and a mere variant of *sphaṭ*, *sphuṭ-*, *paṭ-*. (cf. also BURROW BSOAS 12, 386). All details are obscure: cf. Skt. lex *sphālayati*, *sphāṭayati* (TURNER s. vv. *phāṭnu*, *phārnu*)

32) A different view takes NEISSER II 59.

33) *śunā-*? Cf. *śunā'vaṭ sīram* TB and see GELDNER ad IV. 57. 5, CALAND, Over en uit het Jaim. Brahm. p. 67 n. 151.

and on the other hand Sant. *pal*, Ho *pāl*, as against Mund. *pahal*, *pa'al* (from Hi. *phāl*? Cf. Mund. *phaikao* „to break up the earth by ploughing“) and also Tam. *vāl* „sword, saw, plough-share“. —

4. Cultivation of the soil.

tīlvila- „fertile, rich“ X. 62. 7 (*tīlvilāyādhvam* „zeigt euch ergiebig“ VII. 78. 5); *bīja*-, n. „seed“ V. 53. 13, X. 85. 37 etc.; *hāla*-, n. „fruit“ III. 45. 4, X. 146. 5 (and *aphalā*-, *suphāla*-, *phalīn*-); *pippala*-, n. „berry of the *ficus religiosa*“ (cf. *supippalā*-), *mūla*-, n. „root“ X. 87. 10 (*sahāmūla*- III. 30. 17; *sahāmūra*- X. 8. 19); *khāla*-, m. „threshing floor“ X. 48. 7.

tīlvila-: *tilvala*- MānGS. is prob. corrupt. *Tīlvila*- looks like being a Munda „echo-word“ „*til-vil*“. This may indeed be connected with Sant. *itil* „grease; fat, rich“ (*itil hasa* „rich soil“ cf. *bhadre kṣētre . . . tīlvile vā* X. 62. 7), Mund. Ho *itil*, id. (*hasara'itil* „humus“), and on the other hand with Sant. Mund. *ibil* „thick, dense, close; to sow (grow) densely“, Ho *ibil* „thick“ (e. g. *ibil dā* „hard water“). Just as the last word is a prefixed form of **bil* (Sora *bīdā*- „flock, herd“, Mon *bet* „to be crowded, close together“, Skt. *nī-biḍa*- „dense, close“ PMW 148), so *itil* is to be referred to **til* (cf. also *i-pil* „star“: Sakai *pčloi* etc. PMW 71) This word is obviously contained in the Munda name of the oilseed (*Sesamum indicum* L.) viz. Sant. *tilmin'*, M. Ho Ko. *tilmiñ*. A similar compound (presupposing Munda **til-pin'* / **til-piç*) is *tilpiñja*- AS (lex. *tilapiñja*-, *tilapeja*-) „barren sesamum“. ³⁴⁾ Skt. *tila*-, m. „the sesamum plant or seed“ and the prefixed form *jartila*- „wild sesamum“ TS ŚB must be borrowings from Munda ³⁵⁾. — *bīja*-: loanword (like *kīja*-) in spite of Balochi *bij* (e. g. GEIGER, Etym. des Bal. 116, JOHANSSON, KZ 36, 342, BARTHOLOMAE, Altir. Wb. 1314 etc.). *Vījā* in the Maria dialect of Gondi and Malto *bīchi* (for the normal Drav. form *vittu*) hardly suffice to prove the Drav. origin of Vedic *bīja*- (BURROW, TPS 1946, 10, and K. RAMAKRISHNAIAH, Studies in Drav. Philology). An Austro-Asiatic word for „seed“ is found in Sora *čbāy*-, *čbāy*-, corresponding to Khasi *symbai*, id (from **sč-mbai*;

34) The meaning of *tilasya tilapiñjyā'* AS II. 8. 3 is not clear.

35) Is there any connection with Skt. *ailavila*- „Kubera“, Pkt. *elavila*- „āḍhyo vṛṣabhaśca Deśin. 1. 148? BURROW, BSOAS 12, 380, derives *tila*- from Tam. Kann. *el*, etc. (perhaps via **sil* from Munda? In Telugu and Parji the word for „sesame“ is *nuvvu*, resp. *nuvul* [nū]). Cf. further Skt. lex. *titila*-, n. „*tilapiccatam*“ (oil-cake).

for the form cf. So- ěrōy- „fly“: Central Sakai si-rui „moth“). By the side of the root *bay (Sora b'āi „to become or form into seed“) there may have existed *bëy > *biy (cf. e. g. Sora sánāi „far“: *saniy, presupposed by Sant. etc. sañgin). In Sora the words ěrōy- and sánāi (with Austro-As. y cf. Bahnar roi, Cham rui) etc. and Old Mon ja-nai, Stieng nai, Khasi jinñai, etc.) are also pronounced ěrōj-, sánāj. Does bija- perhaps in the same way stand for *biy?³⁶) — phála-: nearly exclusively in the late parts of the RS. An aboriginal word (PMW 163 with references). Although the parallelism between svādóḥ phālasya jagdhvāya X. 146. 5 and táyor anyáḥ píppalam svādv átti I. 164. 20 is incidental, píppala- (occasionally sanskritized to píṣpala- AS MS) may be related to it. See also p. 144 — — mūla-: although many IE etymologies have been proposed (See GRASSMANN, Wb., BOISACQ s. v. μῶλυ WACKERNAGEL, SbBerl. Ak. 1918, 410 f., KZ 59, 28), it is rather an indigenous word, Cf. perhaps Tam. mūṭu, Tel. mōḍu „root“, and Sant. mula, Mund. Ho murai „radish“. — — khála-: a common Drav. word for „open space“, see BURROW, BSOAS 11, 133, TPS 1946, 9. — For the hapax legomenon parśá-, m. „sheaf“ (X. 48. 7) and for vāmsaga-, m. „bull“ clear indications of foreign origin are lacking.

5. The Country.

a) Words for „hole, pit“: ṛbī'sa- „volcanic cleft“; kar-tá-, m. „hole, cavity“ I. 121. 13, II. 29. 6, IX. 73. 8 f. AS +, k ā-ṭá-, m. „depth, hole“ I. 106. 6 AS, kévaṭa-, m. „cave, pit“ VI. 54. 7 (hapax), bíla-, n. „cleft, hollow“ I. 11. 5; 32. 11.

b) Cf. further: reṇú-, m. „dust“, kṛpīta-, n. „underwood copse, thicket“ or „firewood“ (GELDNER), X. 28. 8 (and lex.); guṣpítá- „entangled, tangle“ (vratatériva guṣpítám ójo dāsasya dambhaya VIII. 40. 6) AS; sthā-ṇú-, m. „trunk of a tree“ X. 40. 13.

36) Variation of this kind may already have occurred in a very early stage of Austro-Asiatic, if we are right in assuming *buy beside *buc/*muc in So. ěbū-, Santali bhu-ku „ant“ (against Sant. muć, Mon sa-mot, Malay sě-mut), and *liy beside *lic/*lac in Khmer bhlī „light, day“, Mon lelī „lightning“ (against Mon kamlit „a flash as in a lightning“, Central Sakai blit, id., and Sora kilāj-: Malay kilat, etc.). For -uy > -u, cf. Mundari kumu „dream“: Stieng mböi „a dream, to dream“, Polyn. moe „to sleep, dream“ (cf. Orientalia Neerlandica 386, 388). Besisi bijeh, Sakai bijeh, bëjö, Serau bëjö „seed, grain“ are probably borrowings from Malay bijeh (but Mal. biji is from Skt.), Khasi pyjei „Samen“, pynjei „Samen hervorbringen, kinderreich sein“ (W. SCHMIDT) do not occur in the dictionaries of Roberts and U Nissor Singh.

ṛbīśa-: ṛbīśa- Bhāradv. Hiraṇyak., arvīśa- JB „eine Erdspalte, aus welcher ein heißer Luftstrom emporsteigt“; it may be a Proto-Munda word (AO 17, 311; see also MAYRHOFFER 124); — kartá-: later gárta-. See Festschr. Debrunner, and note also khadā- „cavity“ (natural or dug), Kauś. 38, 7; 45, 1, and Mar. khāc, khācar n. f. „pit, hole, hollow, cavity“ (c from ṭ?); kāṇukā- (sārāṁsi trimśátam . . . sómasya kāṇukā VIII. 77. 4) is obscure: either „deep“ or „brimful“ (worthless SCHEFTELOWITZ, KZ 52, 252). — kévaṭa-: from *kaiwṛ-ta-: (Greek καίατα from *kaiwṛ-t-) according to de Saussure. The Greek evidence comprises καίατα · ὀρύγματα, ἧ τὰ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καταρραγέντα χωρία. Hes., κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα καιετάεσσαν. Hom. B 581 δ 1 (Zenodotus' reading), which some interpreters referred to ἀπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν ῥωχοί, and lastly καιάδας Thuc. 1, 134, 4 (Schol.: τόπος ὁ Κεάδας ὀρωρυγμένος ἐν Λακωνικῇ, ὅπου κακούργους εἰώθασι ῥίπτειν). Two of these data refer to Lacedaemon and show an interchange t:d which remains unexplained. They rather represent, therefore, a local Lacedaemonian term of pre-Hellenic origin. On the other hand it is phonetically impossible to explain Vedic -aṭ- as a Prakritism for -ṛt-. Hence kévaṭa- must be a loanword (BURROW, TPS 1946, 21): BR. already pointed to avaṭá-, m. „hole, pit“ SV VS +, which seems to be the popular variant of the higher form avatá- (only in the RS!). This would involve that the traditional IE etymology of avatá- (e. g. WALDE-POKORNY I, 110) has to be abandoned, whereas avaṭa- cannot be regarded as a Prakritism with spontaneous cerebralization (WACKER-NAGEL I, 167, EDGERTON, Vedic Variants II § 164, OERTEL, GGA. 1934, 188): if it is a loanword (cf. Pkt. a-gaḍa-!), it may contain the prefix a-. But the details remain obscure. — bila-: Tam. vil(lu)- „to crack, split“, vilavu, pilavu „cleft, crack“, etc. KITTEL XV n. 2 (and Ind. Ant. I, 237), BURROW, TPS 1946, 23. For bāra- (JOHANSSON KZ 36, 388 n. 4), see now WACKERN.-DEBRUNNER KZ 67, 172 n. 1; Toch. B. pile, pile „hole“ (W. COUVREUR, Hoofdzaken van de Tochaarse Klanken Vormleer 1947, p. 14) is rather a loanword from Skt., and W. Oss., bilā „lip, border“ (W. MILLER, Die Sprache der Osseten 33) will have to be kept apart. — reṇú-: takes the place of the IE word pāṁsú- „dust, sand“ (AS, cf. pāṁsurá- RS) and is itself isolated in IE.: derivation from riṇāti (UHLENBECK) offers semantic difficulties, although Old Russ. rěnb „Sandbank“ and Ruthen. rin' „Sand, Flußgeröll“ (PERSSON, Beitr. idg. Wortf. 769) somewhat approach the meaning of reṇú-. On the other hand reṇu (kā)- „sort of drug or perfume (granular like pepper)“ has a synonym hareṇu-, m., which normally signifies „pease, pulse“. Both meanings may have developed from a primary sense „to grind“ (e. g. Russ. goróch „pulse“: Skt. ghṛṣ- „to crush, pound“). Since there is a Munda verb rit' „to grind“ (Sant. rit', Mund. Ho Korku Sora rid, Kharia ri'd), a prefixed form of which is found in Mon kharet (Old Mon kharit) „to rub against“, it is possible that reṇú-

and *ha-reṇu-* reflect Proto-Munda variants **rin* and **ha-rin* (**ka-rin*) with final nasalization (see *Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden 1948, p. 394 ff.). A more recent borrowing closely resembling the modern Munda word is in any case Hi. *retnā* „to file, rasp, polish“, *ret* „sand, filings“, *retī*, *retlī* „sand ground on the bank of a river“, etc. (TURNER s. v. *reti*²). — *kṛpīṭa-*; unexplained. — *guṣpītā-*: AS III. 7. 2 reads *visāṇe viśya guṣpītām yād asya kṣettriyaṁ hṛdī* „O horn, loosen the kshetriya that is knitted into his heart“ (BLOOMFIELD; „compacted (?)“ WHITNEY), but two MSS. have *gulphītām* (like *Sāyaṇa* a. l. and ApŚ X. 10. 3 XIII. 7. 16). In a similar context ŚB III. 2. 2. 20 reads *guṣṭītām*^{36a}). On the other hand *vigulphayati* „strings together“ cannot be separated from class. Skt. *gumphati* „strings together, winds round“ (also P. Pkt. Mar.), and from **guphati*, which survives in Gypsy and Hi. *guhñā* (TURNER s. v. *gutnu*). With *gumph-*, which has in various ways been connected with *guṣp-* (see UHLENBECK, WACKER-NAGEL I, 122, SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Festgabe Jacobi* 27) is further combined Skt. *guccha-*, m. „bunch of flowers, cluster of blossoms, necklace“ (SCHEFTELOWITZ ZII 6, 107; otherwise WACKER-NAGEL I § 158). The last word, however, must be separated from *gumph-* on account of the Pkt. forms, viz. *goccha-*, *goñjī-*, *goṇṭhī-*, *goṇḍī-* (Deśīn. 2. 95) beside regular *guccha-*, *gumcha-* (PISCHEL 67). Whether or not the Dravidian etymology, which P. V. Ramanujaswami (*Glossary on Deśīn.* p. 31) proposes for *goṇḍī-* be accepted³⁷), their foreign origin cannot be questioned. So there remains the problem of the two synonymous roots *gumph-* and *gulph-*: insertion of *l*, *r* into the root is rather common in Munda (e. g. Ho *tolgoe*: Sant. *ṭoṅkor*: *ṭikor ṭokor* „to hang“; Sant. *biṭun'*: *bitu'c* „to turn the posterior“) but *lph* may perhaps be a mere Sanskrit substitute for a geminate: cf. *kūrcaka-*, m. „brush, pencil“ Suśr. (beside *kūcī-*, f. id. Suśr.!) for **kuccaka-*—if really reflecting Dravidian *kuccu* (BURROW, BSOAS 12, 375). Anyhow *gumph-* and *gulph-* must be referred to a root **gup*/**gum*³⁸). This, however, prevents us from taking *guṣp-* in the rather isolated

36a) A rather old reading, since the *lectio facilior* *upa-veṣṭītām* of the Kāṇvīya recension apparently presupposes the reading *udāre[gu]ṣṭītām* of ŚBM. (For similar [graphical?] errors in the Saṁhitā-text see Renou, *Les écoles védiques* 161). Cf. Panj. *guṭṭhṇā*?

37) The reference to Kann. *goṇḍe* „cluster, tuft, impervious state“ (Tam. *koṇṭai* „tuft of hair, hair-dressing“, Tel. *koṇḍi* „knot of hair“) cannot explain Skt. *guluñcha-* (comm. *puṣpastabakaha*) Yaśastil. I, 105, 4 and lex. *guluccha-*, m. *guluñca-*.

38) Cf. perhaps Khasi *khūm* „to bind“, Bahnar *kōm* „to collect“ and Stieng *kum* „to twist, plait“? Is *gulma-* „cluster, clump, thicket“ a nasalized form of *gulph-*? Cf. PMW 55.

form guṣpita- (only RS VIII. 40. 6 = AS VII. 90. 1, and AS III. 7. 2; conjectured for ŚB) as the preform of gumph- (PW II. 766, UHLENBECK). Its correct explanation is suggested by the variant readings piṣṣalam and piṣṣalīm for pippalam AS IX. 9. 20 f., pippalīm AS VI. 109. 2, and supiṣṣalā for supipalā MS I. 2. 2 (:11, 7); cf. also kiṣkuru- (vv. ll. kiḥkuru-, kiṁkuru-) Kauś. S. 38, 3. Such attempts at Sanskritization of foreign words with geminates are usually removed by the editors. Thus the name of a low caste, which in the older texts is Paulkaśa- (VS BAU cf. Paramahansa Upan. 4) or Pulkasaka- (e.g. Vaikh. Dh. S. 3. 14. 3), in the epics Pukkaśa-, Pukkuśa-, Pulkasa- and in Buddh. Skt. Pukkasa- (also e.g. Bhāratamañj. 13, 766) is written Puṣkasaka- in Gopālakelicandrikā (p. 46, 22), although the corresponding passage of the Bhāg. Pur. reads Pulkasaka- (6. 13. 8). Such readings should not be regarded as mere corruptions and be emended (as Caland did). Accordingly guṣp- of the oldest texts represents the higher form of *gupph-, guph- and must be separated from Lat. vespices „thicket“, Old. Engl. cosp „band“ (WACKERNAGEL I. 72, PERSSON, Beitr. idg. Wortf. 309). — sthāṇú-: a Proto-Munda word, see Festschr. DEBRUNNER. —

Note. āraṇa-, n. „a shallow“ (oppos. ḡādhā-) VIII. 70. 8, which F. O. SCHRADER, OLZ 1925, 264 derives from Tam. Kann. āL- „to sink, plunge, dive“ (accepted by NEISSER I, 154) is of doubtful origin. See Lidén, Studien z. ai. und vgl. Sprachgesch. 82. For iriṇa- see NEISSER I, 163, and MAYRHOFER 92 (:MHG. eren? Or rather lw.?).

6. Rural life.

a) The cart: śakataī-, f. „cart“ X. 146. 3 (hapax; śakata-, n. ChU +); āṇi-, m. „linch-pin“ (of the chariot) I. 35. 6; 63. 3 V. 43. 8; vāṇī-, f. „swingle-tree“ I. 119. 5. To this group belong kūbara-, m. MS KS, and kūbarī- „curved rail“.

b) chopping and cutting: kūliśa-, m. „axe“ I. 32. 5 III. 2. 1 +; kūṭa-, m. „mallet“ X. 102. 4; bīlma-, n. „slip, chip“ II. 35. 12 (maṇḍūra-, n. „rust of iron“ Suśr. lex.:) maṇḍūra-dhāṇikī- (meaning ?) X. 155. 4.

c) animal life on the farm: āṇḍā-, n. „egg“ I. 104. 8 VIII. 40. 10 f. X. 68. 7 AS +; āraṅgarā-, m. (bee?) X. 106. 10; chāga-, m. „ram, goat“ I. 162. 3 VS +; pētvā-, m. „ram“ VIII. 18. 17; bāsta-, m. „he-goat“ I. 161. 13 VS +; baṣkāya- in vatsēbaṣkāyē'dhi „ausgewachsen“ (GELDNER) I. 164. 5 (hapax); bārjaha-, m. „udder“ I. 92. 4 (barjahyā- AS); mayūrī-, f. „peahen“ I. 191. 14 (cf. mayūrāśepya- VIII. 1. 25 and mayūrāroman- III. 45. 1); ménā-, f. „female“ (āśvasya I. 121. 2, góḥ X. 111. 3); maṇḍūkā-, m. „frog“ VII. 103. 1 ff., IX. 112. 4, X. 166. 5; kīja-, m. „spur (?)“ in kī-

j o h i r a ṇ y á y a ḥ VIII. 66. 3; m a k ṣ i 'j ā -, f. net for catching birds (?) I. 125. 2; d a ṇ ḍ á -, m. „stick“ once used instead of the old word á ṣ ṭ r ā (Av. a ṣ ṭ r a -) in d a ṇ ḍ á i v é d g o á - j a n ā s a ḥ „like sticks for driving the cattle“ VII. 33. 6; k á - ś ā -, f. „whip“ RS +; p á ḍ b ī ś a -, n. „fetter (for a horse): hobble“ I. 162. 14, 16, X. 97. 16; l a l ā m ī - „having a blaze or star (cattle)“ or „speckled mare“ I. 100. 16. Note: for j á l ā ṣ a - (GELDNER: kühlend) see Ved. Index I, 279 f.

ś a k a ṭ ī -: once used in the popular Aranyānī-hymn for á n a s -, no doubt denoting like the latter the bullock cart (cf. á n a s - v a n t ā . . . g ā 'v ā V. 27. 1) as against the r á t h a - „chariot“; the word is remarkably rare in the older language (ś a k a ṭ ī m u k h ī - ṢvB, ś a k a ṭ a -, n. ChU ŚŚ). Morphologically it must be built like ś a k a ṭ a - „fraudulent, roguish“, which contains a word-base * c a k a t - actually attested in Mund. c a k a d', Ho c a k a ḍ „deceit“, as against the root c a k - in Hi. dial. c h a k n ā „to be deceived“. Other derivatives of this common-Indian word-group show the root to be D a G (- a D), the symbol D comprising the variants t / d, ṭ / ḍ and c / j. and G the variants k / g. See Festschr. DEBRUNNER 248 and below s. v. t a s k a r a -. Similar instances are, e. g. the words for „borax“ (Skt. ṭ a ṅ k a - : ṭ a - g a r a -, ṭ a ṅ g a ṇ a -, r a ṅ g a d a -, Festschr. DEBRUNNER 243 n.) and the word-group of Hi. j h a g ṛ ā (PMW 157). In the same way the words for „cart“, viz. Skt. ś a k a ṭ a -, lex. c a ṅ k u r a -, c a ṅ g u r a -, Pkt. ḍ a g a ṇ a -, n. (beside s a a ḍ h a -, Mg. ś a a l a -) and Bihari c h a k ṛ ā „full-sized bullock cart“, s a g - g a ṛ, s a g a ṛ „light country cart“, Mar c h a k ḍ ā (Kann. c a k (k) a ḍ a, etc.) point to a word-base D a G - a D. Note especially Sant. s a g a ṛ j h a g a ṛ „cart, carting“. Ho s a g i may have been reborrowed from Hi. s a g ṛ ī before the loss of ṛ in that language. Was the primary meaning of this vulgar word perhaps „shaking“ (Pkt. ḍ a g a m a g a - „to shake, rock“, Hi. ḍ a g ḍ a g ā n ā „to shake, toss about“, d h a k e l n ā etc. PMW 156)? Derivation of Magyar s z e k é r, s z e k e r „cart“ from Skt. ś a k a ṭ ī - (Munkácsi) is, it seems, untenable³⁹. — ā ṇ i -: only attested in the RS and AA 2. 7 but quite common in Pali with the meaning „linch-pin, peg, pin, bolt“, which shows the indigenous interpretation of the Vedic word (against ROTH'S, see Vedic Index I, 56) to be correct (See also PIGGOT, Prehistoric India 280 and Nīlkaṇṭh Puruṣottam Joṣī, Nāgarīpracāriṇī Pat- trikā 56. 318 f. for the construction of the Vedic chariot). The IE etymologies based upon an original * a r n i - or * a l n i - (WAK- KERNAGEL I, 192, UHLENBECK, WALDE-POKORNY I, 70, 157, POKORNY 308) can no longer be upheld. CALDWELL, Comp. Gramm. Drav. Lang., 2nd ed. 454 and KITTEL XXXII connect it

39) For this „wunderschöne Etymologie“ as JACOBSON called it, see his ample discussion in „Arier und Ugrofinnen“, pp. 213—215.

with Drav. words for joining, fastening. The meaning „pin, bolt“, however, seems rather to suggest a connection with Drav. aḍ- „to obstruct“, cf. e. g. Tam. aṭai- „to obstruct, block, close, fasten“, Kann. aḍa „the state of being across, transverse or in the way, obstructing“, Tam. aṇai „dam, obstacle, support, prop, buttress“, Kann. aṇe „dam, dike“. The linch-pin keeps the wheel in its place by closing it up.^{39a}) — vāṇī-: originally „reed, bamboo“ (GRASSMANN, UHLENBECK)? Cf. PMW 34, 112. — kūbāra-: „the curved rail of the breastwork on each side of the chariot“ (JOHNSTON, JRAS 1931, 577; cf. also Nāgarīpracāriṇī pattrikā 56, 320 f. and Pa. ratha-kubbara- = vedikā). This meaning confirms the derivation from Proto-Munda *kub-aḍ proposed in PMW 43 f. (otherwise BURROW BSOAS 12, 375). Cf. also Pkt. kuppara- beside kubbara-. — kūliśa-: for the form it may be IE as well as indigenous, but no names of such implements seem to have been inherited from IE. Against comparison with Arm. celum „I split“, Lith. kuliù „I thresh“ (SCHEFTELOWITZ, ZII 6, 93) may be adduced, e. g. Tam. kulir „battle-axe, sickle“, and Skt. kuṭhāra-, m. „axe or hatchet, a sort of hoe or spade“, kuddāla-, m. „spade, hoe“ (cf. BURROW, BSOAS 12, 374), Sant. kutam, Mund. kutam „to beat, hammer“, Sant. kutasī, Mund. Ho kutasī „hammer“, Kann. kuṭṭu- „to beat, strike, pound“: Skt. kuṭṭayati (TURNER s. v. kuṭnu), etc. But the spelling kuliśa- allows no conclusions (see LÜDERS, Philologica Indica 550). — kūṭa-: Tam. koṭṭu- „to beat, strike, pound“ etc. (see above); KITTEL XXXIII, J. BLOCH, BSOS 5, 738, BURROW TPS 1945, 92 f. — bīlma-: probably from Dravidian vil- „to split“, BURROW BSOAS 12, 387; it points to *vilamu by the side of Tam. vilavu, pilavu, viṭavu „cleft, crack“ (v/mb/m, cf. viṭampu, viṭampai, viṭappu). — maṇḍūra-: nothing warrants that the word for rust is really contained in the Vedic compound of unknown meaning. Origin unknown (worthless GUNDERT ZDMG 23, 520)^{39b}). — āṇḍā-: aṇḍa- (since Suparṇādhyaṃya 3. 1 f., Mhbh. Rām.) has shortening of a (WACKERNAGEL KZ 59, 23 n. 1); isolated āṇdam AA 3. 1. 2 (against āṇḍam Śāṅkh. Ār 7. 3) is very suspect and certainly not the older form of āṇḍam, as KEITH, Ait. Ār. 55, 240 n. 1 assumed. Nor can Kalashi onḍrak in my opinion be adduced as a proof for a prehistoric form *andra- (: Old Ch. Slav. jědro; TURNER BSOS 5, 129), see PMW 136 on Sindhi

39a) Cf. the semantic parallel Mund. tusiñ-kenesed' „linch-pin“ (kenesed' „the thing which bars the passage, e. g., a dam“ from kesed' „to shut up, obstruct“). As for Sant. anoli, Mund. anūri, anauli „linch-pin“, they have the appearance of loanwords, but in Pkt. and NIA. the word seems to be unknown (cf., e. g., GRIERSON, Bihar Peasant Life § 164). From Dravidian?

39b) Cf. maṇḍūrike AS XX. 131. 3 (conj.) „verächtliche Frau“ (WACKERN. - DEBRUNNER II, 2, 315).

caṇḍro. Foreign origin is indicated by *-ṇḍ-* (PMW 76). The primary meaning appears from *āṇḍaú* „testicles” AS + (cf. the synonyms *pela-*, *phala-*, Nep. *phul* ~ So. *pēl* „to swell” PMW 147, 163) and from *āṇḍīka-* „bulb-bearing” AS (cf. Pa. *bilālī-* „bulb”; Mund. *bili* „egg, testicle” PMW 1. c): it must have been „swollen, globular”. Cf. So. *adre* „egg” ^{39c} (and Tulu *ari* „testicle”?), and prob. also Sant. *eṇḍ* „penis” (cf. e. g. Ashkun *aṇ* „penis” from *aṇḍa-*). But Sant. *āṇḍga* „testicle” and *aṇḍra* „half-castrated” seem to be Aryan loanwords, and Korku *atkom* „egg” presupposes Aryan **aṇḍaka-* (cf. Sant. *matkom* etc. from Sanskrit *madhuka-*, and Ho *kudlam*, Mund. *kullam* „hoe” from **kuddāla-*). See above *aṣṭhivánt-* — *chā'ga-*: *chagalá-* TS- cannot be separated from Tam. *takar*, Tel. *tagaru*, Kann. *tagar*, *ṭagaru*, *ṭegar* „ram” (not native Dravidian because of initial *ṭ!*). A single term can denote both sheep and goats (Hi. *mēḍhā* „ram”: *mēḍā* „he-goat” PMW 110). These words obviously point to a pre-form *DaG-(aD)*, see above. But further connections (e. g. Kann. *jiṅke*, Tel. *jiṅka*: Kann *cigari*, *cigare*, Skt. *chikkāra-*, m. „antelope” or Hi *ḍāgar* „horned cattle”: Mar. *ḍāṅgal* m. „a species of deer” and PMW 141) are quite uncertain. Osset. *sāγ* „goat” (BARTHOLOMAE, Stud. idg. Sprachg. II, 57) cannot accordingly be connected with *chā'ga-*. — *pétva-*: *pítvá-* TS, *pidvá-* VS MS, *bidva-* KS, name of an animal. Adaptation of a word **bidu* / **pidu* / **pitu*. — *bāsta-*: *vasta-* VS, Pa. *bhasta-* (hapax, in a gatha). Derivation unknown: for **bas-ēt* (Kati *wāse* „goat”?)? In *kṣibasta-*, m. „elephant” (CALAND, AO 2, 160) *-asta-* (for *-attha-*?) is rather suffixal ⁴⁰. — *baškāya-*; lex. *baškayaṇī-*, *baškayinī-* „cow whose calf has grown up”, *bāskiha-* VS (b. *ajāḥ* = *cira-prasūtaḥ*, Mahīdhara), *vāškiha-* MS. Exact meaning of *baškāya-* is unknown (*ekahāyanako vatsaḥ* Sāy., rejected by LUDWIG II, 579 V, 446 f., HILLEBRANDT, Lieder 104 and GELDNER). Since foreign origin is indicated by *b* (WACKERNAGEL I, 184), *-aya* may be explained according to AO 16, 304 and *-iha-* may be parallel to Sant. *-aha* (PMW 99 n. 138). The IE etymologies ⁴¹ are palpably incorrect, nor does *sk* suggest an Austro-As. origin. CHARPENTIER, Brahman I 42, n. 4 rightly points to Pamir Wakhi *uušk*, Sariqoli *višk* „calf” (which words had already previously been combined with *vaškaya-* by R. B. SHAW, JASB. 45. 1876

39c) Add Kharia *eṇḍá* „egg” (according to H. Pinnow).

40) (*kṣib-* would be to *ibha-* what lex. *kṣumā-* „hemp” is to *umā-* „flax”; but cf. MAYRHOFFER 90).

41) JOHANSSON KZ 36, 379, (**beld-ski-*), SCHEFTELOWITZ KZ 53, 250 and ZII 6, 113 (: *bāla-*, *baṭu-*); GOTTLIEB, Language Dissertations VIII, 23 (Old Ch. Slav. *bolīnŭ* „sick, infirmus”).

188) ^{41a}). This case is accordingly parallel to that of *busá-* (see above). — *bárjaha-*: unexplained. — *mayūrī-*: Tam. *mayil* etc. BLOCH BSL 25, 16, TURNER 512, RAMASWAMI AIYAR, JAHRS 10, 71 f., BURROW, BSOAS 11, 608 ff. — *maṇḍūka-*: Pkt. also *maṇḍukka-*, *maṇḍūra-*, Hi. *meṇḍak*, *meṇḍhak*. The IE etymologies (e. g. BUGGE, IF 1, 442, LIDÉN, Studien zur ai. u. vgl. Sprachgesch. 79, 85 f., PETERSSON, Studien zu Fortunatov's Regel 53, 75) fail to explain Rigv. *ṇḍ*; the Drav. etymology suggested by BURROW TPS 1946, 23 is improbable ⁴²). — *kīja-*: a doubtful Drav. etymology has been proposed by BURROW BSOAS 12, 373. — *makṣījā-*: unexplained. — *daṇḍā-*: a late word in RS, in common use since AS, widespread in Dravidian (A. MASTER, JBBRAS 5, 107, BURROW TPS 1946, 19) and in Munda (PMW 75 ff.). Many irregularities in NIA (e. g. Panj. *ḍōḍrū*, Nep. *ḍāṭh*, Mar *jhēḍā*) point to borrowing. H. W. BAILEY in a stimulating fresh study again defends the IE. origin of *daṇḍa-* but does not touch on the difficulties in NIA, nor on that of such Santali variants as *ḍaṭi*, *ḍaṭhi*, *ḍaṇṭit'*, or Kann. *daṇṭu* „stalk" beside *daṇḍa* „staff", etc. — *kāśā-*: unexplained. — *pāḍbīśa-*: a late word (I and X!). For the meaning, cf. Ved. Index I, 470, for the form, Vedic Variants II 217 (with references): *pāḍbīśa-* RS, AS, TS, *pāḍvīśa-* VS, MS, once KS, *paḍvimśa-* (considered corrupt) LSS. Vacillation between *b* and *v* in Vedic texts is mostly an indication of foreign origin, e. g. Rigvedic *bāṇā-*: *vāṇā-*, *kāvandha-*: *kabandhin-* and Vedic Var. II §§ 216, 219. *Paḍbīśa-* is probably **paḍu* + suff. *-īśa* (cf. e. g. *nibir-īśa-*: *nibiḍ-a-*, Myth 8). Further connection with Pkt. *vaṇḍha-*, m. „bond, fetter" etc. (PMW 111) would seem possible. — *jālāśa-*: worthless SCHEFTELOWITZ, KZ 53, 267.

D. SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL SPHERE.

1. Social Organization.

kūla-, n. „family", only in *mahākulā-* I. 161. 1, *ku-lapā'-* X. 179. 2; *gaṇā-*, m. „band" (kleinere Heeresabteilung, NEISSER II, 80), cf. *sāgaṇa-*, *marúdgana-*, etc.; *bīriṭa-* „troop, host (?)" VII. 39. 2.

kūla-: indigenous origin not certain. BURROW, BSOAS 11, 139, TPS 1946, 53 derives it from Dravidian. Cf. PMW 55. —

41a) HORN, Grundz. der neup. Etym., nr. 184 connects these words with Phl. *vačak*, Bal. *gvask* (< **vatsaka-*), but *š* then remains unexplained (see GEIGER, Grundr. Ir. Phil. I, 2, § 33, n. 3).

42) If **maṇḍū-* is a sandhi-variant of **maṇḍur* (cf. Pkt. *maṇḍūra-*?), as *karbu-* is of **karbur* (AO 16,306), we might compare Sora *kendūd-*, *kindūd-*, Kharia *kendon* (and Skt. *śālūra-* [*śālūka-*, *śālu-*], *ta-ḍurī-*, *tā-ḍurī-*, *dardura-*? cf. Mar. *ḍurḍūr*). This is of course mere guess-work.

gaṇá-: from Proto-Munda, PMW 54f. — bīriṭa-: meaning gaṇaḥ (Nir. 5. 28), „Gefolgschaft“ (GELDNER)? But in ā' viśpā-tīva bīriṭa īyate / viśā'm . . . pūrvāhūtau vāyūḥ pūṣā svastāye the only natural construction of viśā'm is with pūrvāhūtau (LUDWIG, GRASSMANN), bīriṭe then being a dual form (OLDENBERG)⁴³. — To this category belongs bādva-, n. „flock, crowd, troop“ KS PB AB, prob. also AS XIII. 4. 45 (bāddhe bāddhāni in the mss.), see JOHANSSON, Festg. JACOBI 431. It is a loanword (b-l), probably standing for *badu-a- (cf. malvá-: Sant. maṭhua, masua, mandhua PMW 105, and phalgva-, kharvá-, etc.). The early occurrence excludes derivation from vṛddhá- (MAYRHOFER, JAOS 71, 146 f.).

2. War.

khája-, m. „bustle of war“ in khajakṛt- VI. 18. 2 VII. 20. 3, VIII. 1. 7, khajamkará- I. 102. 6 TB; sánkā-, f. „battle“ (in sánkāḥ prītanāś ca sārvaḥ VI. 75. 5).

khája-: probably from khaj- „to churn“ (manthe Dhātup. 250), cf. khaja-, m. (Suśr.), khajā-, f. (Mhbh.) „churning stick“, which seems to be a variant of kaḍ-, cf. lex. kaṇṭhāla- „churning vessel“, Tam. kaṭai-, Kann. kaḍi- „to churn with a churning rod“, Kann. kaḍa „churning“, Pkt. ghaḍai „sam-cālan karnā“, and Sant. gaja guja (etc.) „in disorder“ (Orientalia Neerlandica 391, PMW 56). Old Engl. sceacan, Engl. shake (WACKERNAGEL I, 266) is to be separated from it. Cf. also KITTEL XXXIV, XXXVI. — sánkā-: unexplained.

3. Weapons.

a) archery: bāṇá-, m. „arrow“ VI. 75. 17 AS +; bundá-, m. „a certain arrow“ VIII. 45. 4; 77. 6, 11, Kauś.

The technique of archery is still mainly Aryan, as may be inferred from the words for arrow (iṣu-: Av. iṣu-), bow (dhānuṣ-, dhānvan-: Av. θanvar-, θanvan-) and quiver (iṣudhī-, Ep. niṣaṅga-, cf. ni . . . iṣudhīmṛasakta I. 33. 3)⁴⁴. The bows may have been of the composite

43) bīr-, if meaning „troop“ could be connected with Hi. bhiṛnā, Mar. bhiḍṇē „to come close“, Hi. bhīṛ „crowd“, beṛ(h)ā „troop, army, band“, Sindhi miṛaṇu (: Skt. milati, cf. Korku meran „near“) etc., PMW 148.

44) In the later language the quiver is called vāṇavant- ŚB, kholi-, bhastra- (SCHMIDT, Nachtr.), and in the epics śarāvāra- and tūṇī-. The last word has been connected with Old Ch. Slav. tulŭ „quiver“ (from *tōulō-?), but this does not prove the existence of an IE terminology of archery. Since the epics we find tūṇa-, m. (often in dual), tūṇī-, f. and tūṇīra-. Neither the derivation from tulayati (SCHMIDT, Kritik der Sonantentheorie 2 n., PTS Dict.), nor the comparison with tulŭ (KLUGE, Festgr.

type, but any evidence is lacking (PIGGOT, Prehistoric India to 1000 B. C., p. 282, EMENEAU, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 97, 79 f.). The adoption of an indigenous type of arrow is reflected by the use of *bāṇá-* (*bāṇa-* AS), a cognate of the Austro-Asiatic word for „reed, bamboo“, cf. Sakai *awān* „bamboo“ etc. (PMW 34). Note also *kúlmala-* „neck of an arrow in which the shaft is fixed“ (AS MS ŚB), apparently a Munda word. *Bundá-* is the name of a mythical arrow, probably also of Munda origin (Myth 4, 13 f.). For Pa. *bundikā-* see LUDERS, Philologica Indica 566. Many Rigvedic words for „arrow“, viz. *śará-*, *śáru-*, *śáryā-*, *śārī-* (cf. *śályá-*) allow no decision as to their origin. But note *śará-*: *kúśara-* „a kind of reed“ in *śaráśaḥ kúśa-rāso darbhāśaḥ* I. 191. 3 and Mund. *sahar* „arrow“ (dial.) which seems to be a native Munda word. (Sant. *Ho sar* are inconclusive, but cf. also Mund. *āā-sar* (Bhaduri) *á'sar* (Rakhal Das Haldar) = *Ho ā-sar*, Sant. *ak'sar* „bow and arrow“. *Hi sar* means „reed“, *Saccharum sara*). — Here we may insert a discussion of *ālāktā* (*iṣuḥ*) VI. 75. 15, which is translated „mit Arsenik bestrichen, vergiftet“ (GELDNER, Glossar, LUDERS, Philol. Indica 431 f., NEISSER I. 155) or „giftbestrichen“ (GELDNER, Übers.). The hymn is a later addition to the sixth mandala and contains a considerable number of foreign words (*sāṅkā-*, *rúru-śīrṣṇī-*, *bāṇá-*, *kumārā-*, *viśikhā-*). So it would not be surprising if the poisoned horn-headed arrow, which here is opposed to the iron-headed arrow, had been adopted from the aboriginal tribes. The word *āla-* is probably identical with *halāhala-*, *hālahala-* (Jātakam. 31, 67, Vikramāṅkac. 11. 6, 14. 3) lex. *hālahāla-kalākula-*, *kulika-* „poison“, lex. *hālāhala-* „a poisonous plant“. For the relation *al-*: *hal-*: *kal-* cf. *āvila-* „turbid“: Sant. *hevel*: *kevel* (PMW

BOHTLINGK 60, BOISACQ 938, PETERSSON, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 7, 25, SCHEFTELOWITZ, KZ. 53, 249) can be correct; see WACKERNAGEL I, 193. In Kharia the quiver is called *kom-thongi*, see S. CH. ROY, The Kharias p. 101 (but on the plate the name is given as *kom-choṅgi*!). He defines it as „an arrow case made of pumpkin gourd and sometimes of bamboo“. Now *kom* is the Kharia word for „arrow“ and *thongi* is the equivalent of Mund. *ṭoṅki* (*Ho ṭuṅki*) „an elongated bamboo basket“ (~ *ṭoṅka* „aperture, hole“, *ṭoka*, *ṭoṅka* „to have a hole at the bottom“, *coṅga* „a funnel of leaves“, etc., cf. TURNER *ḍhuṅro*, *ḍuṅo*). The arrows are, indeed, taken in a hollow bamboo, cf. Sant. *sar ṭhonga* „quiver“: *ṭhonga* „a cylindrical receptacle of bamboo“ (Similarly in Indo-China, see Izikowitz, Lamet, p. 181). In the same manner Skt. *tūṇa-* is derived from **ḍuṇ-* **ṭuṇ-* „hollow“, cf. Kann. *ḍoṇe* „quiver“: Tam. *tōṇṭu-* (Tel. Kann. *tōṇṭu-*) „to hollow, excavate“, *tōṇṭi* „hole“. From the same words may be derived Pa. Pkt. *ḍoṇī-*, f. „wooden vessel, trough, canoe“ (: Kann. *ḍoṇi* „boat“) and Lahnda *ḍōṇḍa m.*, Sindhi *ḍūṇḍo m.* „boat“. See TURNER *ḍoṭho* (Skt. *droṇī-* for **ḍoṇī-*, rather than from *dāru-*?).

127). This would point to a Munda origin (against KITTEL XXXVII). See also MAYRHOFER 80.

b) other weapons: *śāmba-*, m. „club (?)“ X. 42. 7.

śāmba-: any kind of weapon may be meant; the interpretation as *vajraḥ* (Naigh. 4. 2; Nir. 5. 24) is of course worthless but may account for the meaning of lex. *śampā-* „lightning“ (if deduced from „thunderbolt“). On the other hand the meaning „metal knob of a pestle“ (lex.) may be authentic. While this would confirm the meaning „club“ (see above *mūsala-*), the derivative *śambin-* AS IX. 2. 6 for a „steersman“ or „pole-man“ who propels a boat, points rather to a meaning „pole“. — Note. For *kūliśa-*, see above (p. 163).

4. Economical Life.

vañij-, m. „merchant, trader“ I. 112. 11, V. 45. 6 AS+, cf. *vāṇá-* (or rather *pravāṇá-*) „trade“ IV. 24. 9. — Note: The meanings formerly assigned to *sirī-* X. 71. 9 („weaver“ ?) and to *prámaganda-*, m. III. 53. 14, *bekanāṭa-*, m. VIII. 66. 10 („usurer“) are incorrect or uncertain. Loanwords for „usurer“ and „loan“ occur for the first time in the Yajurveda, viz. *kusidín-* ŠB, resp. *kúsida-* TS (Ved. Index I, 159).

In IV. 24. 9 *víduhanti prá vāṇám* the last words are rather to be read *pravāṇám*, cf. *prapaṇá-* AS III. 15. 4 ff. where this word again corresponds to the IE word *vasná-* „price, value“ in RS IV. 24. 9). See OLDENBERG and GELDNER a. 1. The AS further has *pratipaṇá-* and *pratipāṇá-*, but the verb *paṇate* occurs for the first time in the Yajurveda (VS TS KS). A connection between *vañij-* and *paṇ-*, suggested by (*pra*)*vāṇá-* has already been proposed by ROTH and GRASSMANN, but was entirely disregarded by WACKERNAGEL and UHLENBECK. The alternation *v:p* may be explained from Dravidian (e. g. *vilavu* : *pilavu*, see above) as well as from Munda, but it is difficult to account for the mode of formation of *vañij-*. A Drav. etymology of *vañij-* has been suggested by MAYRHOFER, *Symbolae Hrozny* 5, 69 f., and of *paṇ-* by BURROW, TPS 1945, 108 f. but they do not remove the difficulties. The classical IE etymologies (: Germ. *Waa-re*, resp. Lith *pel-nas* or Gr. *πέρονη*) will have to be abandoned. The traditional derivation of the proper name *Paṇi-* from *paṇ-* lacks any foundation.

5. Asocial persons.

tāskara-, m. „robber, thief“. RS +

tāskara-: rather „robber, highwayman“ than „thief“: he goes out at night (I. 191. 5), dogs bark at the thief (*stená-*) and the robber (VII. 55. 3), he guards the highroads (VIII. 29. 6) and is accordingly a *paripanthin*, he wanders about in the forest

(*vanargú* - X. 4. 6.) and steals cows (VI. 28. 3). He is accordingly different from the *stená* -, who is twice mentioned along with the *agháśamsa* - (II. 42. 3, VI. 28.7) and is said to climb over a *vrajá* - (X. 97. 10); or from the *tāyú* -, who steals cattle (I. 65. 1, VII. 86. 5) and clothes (IV. 38. 5) and hides his track (V. 15. 5). Elsewhere, it is true, both the *stená* - and the *tás-kara* - are said to be in the forest (VS XI. 79) and to be cattle and horse thieves (AS XIX. 50. 5). See also Ved. Index I, 302 f. The IE etymologies are obviously incorrect⁴⁵). Tam. *takkān* „thief” cannot be separated from *takkāram* 1) „theft, pilfering” 2) „trickery, guile”, which again, on account of its second meaning, must be connected with Tam. *takku*, Tel. *ṭakku*, Kann. *ṭ(h)akku* „deceit, trickery, cheating”, Tel. *ṭakku* - „to deceive”, *ṭakkari* (*takkari*) „rogue, hypocrite; treacherous, wily”, *tagara* „rogue, deceiver”, *ṭakaṭaṅku* „rogue”. The initial cerebral shows these words to be borrowings (see also SUB-BAYA, A Primer of Dravidian Phonology 24). In Aryan we find words with initial dental or cerebral, e. g. Skt. lex. *takila* - „roguish” (Tam. *takilan* „deceiver”, *takili* -, Tel. *tagilincu* - „to deceive”) Pkt. *ṭhaga* -, id., Hindi *ṭhagnā* „to cheat, deceive”; and words with initial palatal, e. g. Skt. lex. *śakaṭa* -, *jagala* - „roguish”, Mar. *chakaḍ* „a stroke of deceit”, *chakaḍ-bheḍ*, *cakar-makar* „arts, wiles, tricks”. The ultimate source of all these words must be Munda, but there must have been repeated new borrowings (as in the case of *śakaṭi* - „cart”). Thus Mar. *chakaḍ* - and *cakar* - must be from Munda **cakat*’ (Mund. *cakad*’, Ho *cakaḍ* „to cheat”), Mar. *ṭhakū* „roguish, fraudulent” is perhaps from Dravidian (Kann. *ṭ(h)akku* „deceit” or rather *vice versa*?), whereas Mar. *ṭhag* „a cheat, rogue” continues Pkt. *ṭhaga* - (Deśin. 2. 28 comm.), of which Skt. lex. *ṭhaka* - is either the older form or a mere Sanskritization (as Skt. *sthaga* - is). Now the Pan-Indian evidence (see PMW 141 n. 22, Festschr. DEBRUNNER) comprises root-words (like Hi. *ṭhagnā*, *chaknā*) and words derived from a word-base DaG-aD (e. g. Hi. *ḍiṅgar* „a rogue, a cheat”). Thus the question may be raised whether *táskara* - also belongs to this word-group and reflects a Proto-Munda form **takkar* (cf. Tel. *ṭakkari* „rogue”: Mar. *cakar-makar*). The parallel cases of *piṣpala* - AS for *pippala* -, and *guṣpitá* - for **gupphita* - entitle us to affirm this: *táskara* - is ultimately a cognate of Thug. It should be noted that *kk* is extremely rare in Vedic (the sole instance seems to be *vṛkká* - from **vṛt-ka* - I. 187. 10, later also *kukkuṭá* - VS, WACKER-NAGEL I, 111 f., MACDONELL Ved. Gramm. 21 f.).

45) From **atas-kara* - (POTT), or connected with *abhi tatasre* (GRASSMANN), or with Russ. *taskát*’ (UHLENBECK, FICK II 121); both words from **tag-sk* - and related to Lat. *tagax*, Ir. *taghut* (SCHEFTELOWITZ ZII 6, 111); Skt. suffix -*kara*, PISANI, Riv. di Studi Orient. 18, 102.

E. EMOTIONAL AND SENSORIAL SPHERE

1. Colours, Light sensations, Taste.

kilā'sa - „spotted“ in *kilāsyāḥ* „spotted deer“ V. 53. 1 AS +; *nī'la* - „dark-blue, black“ RS +; *śabāla* - „variegated“ X. 14. 10, AS +; *śoṇā* - „red“ RS +; *kalmalīkin* - „shining, bright“ II. 33. 8 (hapax); *mārīci* -, f. „beam of light“ X. 58. 6; 177. 1 AS +; *jañjaṇābhāvānt* - (in *arciṣājañjaṇābhāvan* / *agnīr vāneṣu rocate* VIII. 43. 8); *kūḍ* - (*kūlayātaḥ*) „to singe, scorch“ VIII. 26. 10; *kātu-ka* - „sharp, bitter“ X. 85. 34 +. The meaning of *jāj(h)jhatī* V. 52. 6 is unknown.

kilāsa -: derivation unknown; perhaps identical with *ki-lā'sa* -, m. „white leprosy“ AS+, Pali (cf. *kiḍḍya* -, m., *kiṭṭima* -, n. id. and *kiṭṭāla* -, m. „rust“, *kiṭṭama* -, *kiṭṭima* -, n. „turbid water“). — *nī'la* -: in all likelihood a loanword, but derivation from Tam. *nīlāl* „shadow“ (GUNDERT ZDMG 23, 522, KITTEL XXVIII) cannot be correct. The IE etymologies, which connect it with Greek *νῶγος* (CHARPENTIER, KZ 40, 452 n. 2) or *Νηλεύς* (PISANI, ZDMG 97, 327 f.) or with O. Pers. *naiba* - (WUST, Vgl. u. etym., Wb. des Alt-Indoarischen, Introd. 106 n. 2) do not explain any detail. — *śabāla* -: related to *śambara* -, *śarvarī* -, *karbura* - etc. (AO 16, 306). — *śoṇā* -: unexplained (cf. KITTEL XXVIII). — *kalmalīkin* -: cf. *kalmali* - (meaning obscure; „thunderbolt“ according to T. CHOWDHURY, JBORS. 17, 60 f.) AS. Obviously from an echo-word like Sant. *jhalā mala*, *jhile mile*, *jhil mil* etc. „glistening, shining, resplendent“, Hi. *jhil mil* „sparkling“, Nep *jhili(k) mili(k)*, etc. cf. Hi. *jhalkānā*, *malkānā* „to oscillate“ and Skt. *malmalābhāvānt* - „glittering“ TS MS KS, lex. *jalavālikā* -, *cilamīlikā* -, f. „lightning“. — *mārīci* -: the IE etymology does not sufficiently explain its specific formation (UHLENBECK s. v., BOISACQ 50, TRAUTMANN, Balt.-Slav. Wörterb. 183, SPECHT, Urspr. idg. Deklin. 310 n. 1). Connection with Tel. *meRacu* - (*meRugu* -, *meRumu* -) „to glitter“, Kann. *meRasu* - „to cause to shine“ (BURROW BSOAS 12, 389) is probably correct^{45a}). — *jañjaṇābhāvānt* -: „onomatopoeic“ words of this type (MACDONELL, Ved. Gramm. 430 f.) often appear to be popular expressions taken from the indigenous languages, cf. *malmalābhāvānt* - (quoted above) and *bharbharā'-bhāvānt* - „became confounded“ MS (: Mund *bambar* „delirium, to talk nonsense“ etc. PMW 74 and Hi. *baṛbaṛ*). It is clear that *jañjaṇā* - is a similar reduplicated formation, which resembles such expressions as *jhaṇajhaṇā* -, *jhaṇatkāra* -, *jhañjhaṇā* - „jingling, tinkling or clinking sound“ In Santali we

45a) Cf. however Sora *māriḍ* - „clear“.

find *jhan jhan*, *jhanar jhanar*, *jhanat jhanat* „with a clinking, chinking, crackling sound“ (: Hi. *jhanjhan*, *jhanjhanāhat*), which is also said of firewood that has become crackling dry. Whether *jañjaṇā-bhávant-* means „crackling“ or „sparkling“ (as it is generally translated), its formal parallelism to these expressions seems unquestionable. This excludes etymological connections with *jáñjatī-* I. 168. 7, whose meaning is not sufficiently clear from the context (GELDNER „flammend“, equating it with *jañjaṇābhávant-*, Ved. Stud. II, 253 n. 2; ROTH „Wasserfall“ on account of *jájjhatī* V. 52. 6). — *kūlayati*: no Vedic variants, *kūḍayati* KKS, *krūḍayati* KS, *kūlayati* AB Suśr., but *upakūḍya* Caraka 3, 7, see pw). For *krūḍ-*, cf. *krīḍ-* and Festschr. DEBRUNNER). A nasalized variant only in *kuṇḍate* „dāhe“ Dhātup. and in Pkt. *kuṇḍhaya-* (v. l. *kuṇḍaya-*) „fire-place“ Deśin. 2. 63. Unknown in MIA and NIA? Cf. Sora *kúḍā-* (*kūl-*) „oven“. Origin unknown (probably neither Dravidian nor Munda). The IE etymology (: Goth. *hauri*, Lith. *kuriù*, WACKERNAGEL I, 169, UHLENBECK, WALDE Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachw. 195, WALDE-POKORNY I, 418, POKORNY 571) is phonetically impossible, whether *kūḍ-* is traced back to **kur-d-* (BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG 50, 702) or to **kṛ-d-* (POKORNY) ^{45b}). — *kāṭuka-*: a Dravidian word, CALDWELL Comp. Gramm. 455, 467 f., KITTEL XXXIV, BURROW TPS 1946, 20.

2. Big, Enormous, etc.

ambhṛṇā- „dreadful (?)“ I. 133. 5 (hapax); *vikāṭa-* „huge, monstrous, hideous“ (in *ārāyīkāṇe vikāṭe* X. 155. 1), Mhbh. +; *vaṭūrīn-* (meaning ?) I. 133. 2.

ambhṛṇā-: GELDNER: ungeheuerlich (?) - Derivation from **ámbar-* (which would be identical with the rare Vedic word *ámbaras-* „violence“) is theoretically possible but the secondary suffix *-na-* is extremely rare in Vedic (only *straīṇa-* is derived from a noun); nor do such derivatives from the heteroclitic nouns in *-r* occur in the cognate languages (see e. g. BENVENISTE, Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen 5 ff.; the cases of Old Ch. Sl. *slŭnice* and Lat. *craŭo* are different). The comparison with Goth. *abrs* „strong“ and Celt. **obno-* „fear“ presupposes nasal-infixation (which however is excluded by the laws of IE morphology, see „Indogermanische Nasalpräsentia“ p. 105 ff.) or nasalization (which is rather confined to words from the Old European and Mediterranean linguistic areas). KITTEL XXXVIII need not be refuted. The homophone *ambhṛṇā-* „Soma-trough“ VS suggests a foreign origin for this word too. — *vikāṭa-*: since the assumption of a Prakritic development of *-aṭ-* from *-ṛt-* (Skt. *vikṛta-*)

^{45b}) Kharia *gorḍ* „to burn“, aberrant in its word-structure, is perhaps a loanword.

is not supported by any evidence, it must be a borrowing (see also BURROW TPS 1946, 20). Origin unknown. — *vaṭūrīn-*: *śīrṣā' yātumātīnām chindhi vaṭūrīṇā padā'*, *mahāvaṭūrīṇā padā'* (in the same hymn where *ambhṛṇā-* occurs!). Something enormous must be meant (as was also Sāyaṇa's guess: *veṣṭanaśīlena sarvavyāptena . . . yad vā veṣṭanaśīlena, hastinaḥ sambandhinā* (associated with Hi. *baṭnā* „to twist, entwine“?). Derived from **vaṭūra-*, which may be identical with Kharia *batur* „bronchocele, elephantiasis“ (PMW 144), cf. Hi. *bataurī* „oedematous, swelling, tumour, boil“ (: *batūrī* „chick pea“). — Note. For the opposite *āṇu-* „small, minute“ (only in *āṇvī-* „finger“) a Drav. etymology has been suggested in Museum, vol. 59 (1954) 119.

3. Crying, Speaking.

kaṇūkayāntīḥ „crying (?) X. 132. 7; *jalp-* „to speak, murmur“ in *jālpī-*, f. „murmur“ VIII. 48. 14, X. 82. 7; *bhan-* „to speak“.

kaṇūkayāti: GELDNER: jammernd (?). Meaning quite uncertain; „crying“ is based on Sāyaṇa (NEISSER II, 52). From *kaṇūka-* (<**kaṇu-*? cf. Sant. *kando* „to cry, weep“??). — *jālpī-*: in view of *jāpati* „murmurs“ AB ŚB+ we must consider the possibility of *l* being inserted (whether this is a morphological or rather a phonological process, cf. e. g. Skt. *gulph-* (see above), Ho *tolgoe* PMW 134 and my note on *valkala-*, ~ *vākala-* *Orientalia* Neerl. 400, Skt. *tilaka-*, m.: Sant *ṭiklak'* „a spot, spotted“). Semang (CLIFFORD) *yap* „to speak“ suggests an Austro-Asiatic origin. A rhyme-word is *gap/gam* (TURNER s. v. *gaph*, Munda correspondences PMW 33) of which Beng. *galpa*, *gappa* perhaps is an „infixated“ variant (but Ved. *rap-* is Aryan). — *bhan-*: later *bhaṇ-*, Mar. *mhaṇ-*, Bashkarik *mān-*, *man-*, Dumaki *man-*: Sant. *men*, Mund. Ho. *men*, Korku *mhen*, PMW 32. —

4. Quick Movement.

phaṇ- „to jump“ (*apānīphaṇat* IV. 40. 4, *āphāṇa-yat* VIII. 69. 13; cf. *pamphaṇat* ŚŚ 8. 25. 8); *krīḍ-* „to leap, jump, play“; *sam-mīl-* „to close the eyes“ I. 161. 12 +; *bāsri* „quickly“ I. 120. 12 hapax. Note also *valg-* „to jump (boil up)“.

phaṇ-: derivation from **phṛ-n-* or **phar-n-* (WAK-KERNAGEL I. 192, GRASSMANN) is phonetically impossible; moreover none of the Rigvedic words with initial *ph* is an inherited IE word (only *phéna-* is ambiguous, see above). *Phaṇ-* is a nasalized variant of *phaḍ-*, cf. Hi. *phādnā*, *phālnā* „to leap, spring“ PMW 89 f., 160. (add *utphāla-Śrīk.* 7, 63 f. [SCHMIDT, Nachtr.], *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* 16, 632, *Bhāratamañjarī* 19. 211, 586. 1295, *pratiphāla-* *Haravijaya* 25.

56 and Pkt. *upphula-* Śak. 39, 15 ed. CAPPELLER, *upphulia-* Sheth). The intensive form shows this verb to have been fully naturalized as early as the family books (although it may be a Sanskritization of an aboriginal reduplicated form such as presupposed by Skt. *pharpharāyate*, Pkt. *phuraphurādi*, PMW 160). — *krīḍ-*: the meaning „play” seems to be restricted to RS X (of children etc.: 78. 6; 79. 6; 85. 18, 42; 94. 14; 95. 9), while in the older parts it denotes the quick leaping or dancing movement of the Maruts (GELDNER: *tändeln*, *sich tumeln*) or the gods (cf. *nṛtyatām* X. 72. 6?), of a flame of Agni and the flowing Soma who is likened to a race-horse (e. g. IX. 80. 3; 86. 26, 44; cf. 66. 29: „spielt = tanzt” GELDNER), and of the waves (*krīlann ūrmīr apām iva* IX. 108. 5); cf. *krīlanty asya sūnṛtā āpo ná pravātā yatīḥ* VIII. 13. 8). This meaning is preserved in class. *khel-* „to move to and fro” Rām. +, sanskritized into *kṣvel-* „to leap, jump, play” Rām. +, cf. *kheli-*, *keli-* „play” and Pkt. *khellaī*, *khelaī*, *kheḍḍaī*. (PISCHEL p. 148). *Khel-* may be direct from **kīḍ-*; *krīḍ-* would accordingly be no instance of Dravidian proenthesis (A. MASTER, BSOAS 12, 362 f.) but rather a sanskritized form of **kīḍ-* (Festschr. DEBRUNNER) 46). As such it may be compared with *krūḍ-*, the Kāthaka variant of *kūḍ-* „to scorch” (see above). The Indian evidence (for which TURNER s. v. *khelnu* should be consulted) excludes an IE origin of *krīlaṭi* (~ Old Icel. *hrista* etc. WACKERNAGEL I, 210, 274 f., or ~ Latin *curro* Neisser II, 72). Origin unknown: the Drav. words for „friendship” (Master 1. c.) belong to a different semantic sphere, and *Kharia hilo dolo* „to move to and fro”, *hile* „to be shaky”, *hilā* „to move”, *hiláy* „to shake” etc. (Hi. *hilnā* „to shake, waggle, rock, swing, toss about”, Nep *hilnu* „to move, be shaken”) show no traces of variants with either *k* or *ḍ* (PMW 66). — *saṁ-mīl-*: the variants *mic-* (Pkt. *miñcana-*, Hi. *mīc(h)nā* „to close”), *miṭ-* (Mar. *miṭṇē*, etc.) and *biḍ-* (Hi. *bheṇnā* „to close, shut”) show it to be a loanword, PMW 135. Difficult is *miṣ-* „to open the eyes”, *ni-miṣ-* „to close the eyes, to wink”. It cannot be discussed here. — *básri*: origin unknown.

46) It may be noted in passing that a root **kīḍ-* might account for Rigvedic words without *r*. The meaning of the proper name *Khelá-* I. 116. 15 cannot be ascertained („schwankend, sich wiegend”? GRASSMANN) but for the hapax legomenon *kīrin-* in ... *kubhanyáva utsam ā kīrinō nṛtuḥ* V. 52. 12 (said of the (Maruts) it is tempting to assume the same meaning as *krīláyah* has in I. 87. 3 (referring tho the Maruts like *krīlām* I. 37. 1, 5). Vedic *kīr-* for **kīṛ-*/**kīḍ-* would be quite regular, cf. *kubhrá-* MS (: Hi. *kubṛā*, Sant. *kubḍha* PMW 43), etc. and see below Ved. *takarī-*: Hi. *ṭaṅgṛī*, Mar. *taṅgaḍī*.

5. Pressing, Squeezing.

pīd-: pipīlė IV. 22.8 AS +

The IE etymologies ⁴⁷⁾ disregard the existence of Pkt. piṭṭai, piṭṭei „piṭnā, tāḍan karnā“ (cf. piṣṭadu Mṛch. 154, 8 Stenzler, v. l. piṭṭhadu, ptc. piṣṭide 156, 15; 165, 2 and 9; gerund piṭṭia or piṭṭhia 165, 21) and of piḍḍai beside pīḍai, pīlai. Cf. also Skt. pic- „eindrücken, einbeugen“ Vadhūlasūtra (Caland, AO I, 10 II, 163 IV, 209 VI, 228), pic-cayati „squeezes, presses flat“ (ptc. piccita-, beside pic-ciṭa-, piccaṭa-, lex. piṭṭita- „pressed flat“), picchana-, n. „das Breitquetschen“, Pkt. pellei „pīlnā, dabānā, pīṛnā“ (ptc. pellia- „pīḍit“) and pīḍha-, n. a sugarcane press (ikṣunipīḍanayantram) Deśin. 6. 51. This vacillation between piṭṭ-, pīḍ-, piḍḍ-, pīḍh-, pic-, picc-, picch-, pīl- and pell- points to non-IE origin. This is moreover confirmed by a comparison of Guj. phēdvū „to pound, crush“, Hi. pīṭnā „to pound“, peṛnā „to press, squeeze, crush, grind“, bhīṛā „pressed, crushed“, pīcnā, phīcnā „to squeeze, wring out“, bhīcnā „to squeeze, crush“, mījnā, dial mīḍnā (mīṛnā) „to rub, crush with the hands, pulverize“, perhaps also Panjabi velṇā „to press (sugarcane), to mash“? ^{47a)}. It is clear that a derivation of picch- from *piṣ-ch- (SCHEFTELOWITZ ZII 6, 107), or of piṭṭ- from piṣṭa- (TEDESCO, Archaeologica Orientalia in memoriam Ernst HERZFELD 214 n. 17) cannot explain the variants. KITTEL, Ind. Ant. 1, 237 was the first to explain Skt. pīḍ- from Drav. (which apparently was rejected by CALDWELL, Comp. Gramm. 2nd ed. 466). Cf. Tam. Mal. Kann. pīli- „to wring or squeeze out, to press out (with the hands)“, Tel. piṇḍu- „to press out, to wring“, piḍucu- „to squeeze“, pitucu- „to squeeze out, to milk“ and on the other hand Tam. picakku- „to press between the fingers, squeeze, crush“, Tel. pisuku-, pisucu- „to squeeze, knead, handle“, Tam. picai- „to knead, to squeeze or mash between the palms“, Tulu pīsuni „to squeeze, press out“, Kuvi pīchali „to milk, wring“, etc. See also BURROW, TPS 1945, 109 f., whose comment on the last words however seems to re-

47) Either from IE *epi-sed-, e. g. POTT, Etym. Forsch. I (1833) 248, KZ 26, 33, BICKELL, KZ 21, 429, SCHMIDT, Kritik der Sonantentheorie 157 f., BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG 50, 686, SCHWYZER, Griech. Gramm. I, 721 n. 5; or from *pis-d- (cf. e. g. niṣ-pīḍ- Bhārata-mañjarī 11. 43: niṣ-piṣ- 11. 44): BOHTLINGK ZDMG 39, 535, JOHANSSON IF 2, 48, BLOOMFIELD, John Hopkins Univ. Circular 1906, 1062 (against connection with Greek πῆζω, but see my „Indo-germanische Nasalpräsentia“ 40); or from *piad- (GRASSMANN).

47a) Panj. velṇā „to roll (dough)“ belongs to Hi. belnā „to spread out, roll into a flat cake“; from Munda, cf. Sant. bel, Mund. Ha bil, Kharia bel, Sora bēl „to spread, extend“ (~ Korku bindil!)

quire reconsideration. The ultimate origin of these words remains doubtful: it would not be surprising if the Dravidian words would turn out ultimately to be borrowings from another linguistic group.

6. Dirt and Sin.

má la -, n. „dirt, impurity“ X. 136. 2 AS +; kí l bi ṣ a -, n. „fault, guilt, sin“ V. 34. 4, cf. X. 71. 10 AS + (also in brah - ma - k., ni - k.). Note. The opposite of „sin“ is expressed by pú ṇ ya -, n.

má la -: a prefixed form is śá ma la -, n. „stain, spot, etc.“ AS TS JB etc., Pa. BSkt sa ma la -. The prefixation points to Proto-Munda origin, PMW 36. — kí l bi ṣ a -: has been connected with ka l m ā ṣ a -, n. „spot, stain“ (ka l m ā ṣ a - „spotted, variegated“ VS TS etc.), and ka l ma ṣ a -, m. „dirt, stain, sin“ (Rām. Manu+). The last two words point to a Proto-Munda ṣ / ṣ̣, which alternates with ḍ (PMW 6 and footn. 3). As a matter of fact, we find in Prakrit ka ma ḍ ha -, n. „mail, mal“ and in Skt. lex. ku l ma la -, n. „sin“. All these words may perhaps be referred to a root ba ḍ - (bi ḍ -), nasalized ma ḍ - (PMW. 38). — For pú ṇ ya -, see below.

7. Negative Sensations of Fear and Frustration, and Corporeal Defects.

ul ba ṇ a - in a nu l ba ṇ á - „faultless“ (á pa s - X. 53. 6, cá k ṣ a s ā VIII. 25. 9); o ga ṇ á - „violent (?)“ X. 89. 15; k ā ṇ a - „blind in one eye“ X. 155. 1 +; k ī r í - „weak, poor, humble“ (exclusively RS); k ú ṇ ā ru - „lame“ III. 30. 8 (hapax); k ha r v á - „mutilated, crippled“ TS (in á k ha r va - „unmutilated, entire“ VII. 32. 13); j á l hu - VIII. 61. 11 (hapax); ta nd ra y ú - „lazy, slothful“ VIII. 92. 30; ni ṇ ya - „secret“ (adv.: ni ṇ ik „secretly“ IV. 5. 8); pha l g v á - „small, weak“ IV. 5. 14 (hapax; pha l g ú - VS); ba dh ir á - „deaf“ IV. 23. 8, IX. 73. 6 (á ba dh ir a - VIII. 45. 17); ma nd a - „weak“ in á ma nd a - I. 126. 1; *l ā t ṛ ṇ a - („hindrance, obstacle“?) in a l ā t ṛ ṇ á - I. 166. 7; III. 30. 10.

a nu l ba ṇ á -: (á pa s) GELDNER translates „ohne Knoten“ resp. „fehlerlos“ (cá k ṣ a s -), apparently from *ul ba ṇ a - „fault“ (either prefix ul + ba ṇ a - or suffix -a ṇ a - as in ul bá ṇ a - = úl ba - „bag enveloping the embryo“. — o ga ṇ á -: „gewalttätig“ (GELDNER) on account of Pkt o ya ṇ a - „cruel, fierce“, cf. u ga ṇ a - YV SV. See NEISSER I. 197. Formation of o ga ṇ á - is as obscure as is that of o da ṇ á -, o pa ś á - (Proto-Munda prefix o - as in Pkt. o lim bh ā - ? see o pa ś á -). — k ā ṇ a -: the classical etymology (: identification with ka ṇ á - „crop-eared“ MS = Russ. Ch. Slav. k ū rn ū, Latvian dial. ku or ns, see e. g. WACKERNAGEL I, 192 with references, TRAUTMANN, Balt.-Slav. Wörterb. 146) is phonetically impos-

sible: *kāṇā-* is the only true Vedic correspondence of the Baltic and Slavonic words (as is also evident from its meaning). For the same reason PEDERSEN'S etymology (: Old. Ir. coll „luscum“, M. Ir. goll „blind“, Kelt. Gramm. I, 157) is unacceptable. *Kāṇa-* strongly resembles the Dravidian root *kāṇ-* „to see“ but GUNDERT'S suggestion to derive it from the negative participle *kāṇā* „not seeing“ (ZDMG 23, 521) has rightly been passed over unnoticed by CALDWELL, Comp. Gramm. 2nd ed. 464 and KITTEL. It could, indeed, only have been introduced into Sanskrit by bilingual persons; for these, however, the predominating association of *kāṇa-* would have been with *kāṇ-* „to see“ which is as frequently used in every-day speech as the negative participle must have been rare. At best, therefore, we might have expected a Skt. word **a-kāṇa-*. Besides, „not-seeing“ would have been a rather inexact term for one who is blind in one eye. BURROW TPS 1946, 22 further refers to Maria Gondi *kānā* „blind“, but this is rather the common Hindi word. As for Sant. *kāṛā*, Mund. *kāṛā* „blind“, Ho *kāṛā* „one-eyed“, they also seem to be borrowings (from Hi. *kāṛā* „blind in one eye“, cf. fem. Sant. *kāṛī*, Ho *kāṛī*!). Nevertheless I think that the derivation from Pr. Munda **gaḍ-* „stunted, defective“ (PMW 52) is correct : cf. on the one hand Sora *kaḍū* „blind“ beside *kālla* „deaf“, on the other hand *khārva-* „blinded“ Kauṭ., which shows the general idea that the words for „deaf“, „blind“ and „dumb“ have developed from the meaning „stunted, defective“ (PMW 52, 102) to be correct. Cf. also Tam. *poṭṭai* „blindness“ and Mund *poṛo* „blind(ness)“ beside Kann. *hoṭṭa* (from **poṭṭa*) „a deaf man“ (= *badhirā-* „deaf“ PMW 102), and the semantic parallel Bashkarik *ṣār* „blind“ < **śīrta-* (MORGENSTIERNE, AO, 18, 252) — *kīri-* : see NEISSER II 59. Origin unknown (non- IE because of *k* before *i*). — *kūṇāru-* : from Dravidian: BURROW TPS 1946, 22 f., and PMW 54. — *ākharva-* : *khārvā-* for **kaḍu + a*, a variant of *khaṇḍa-* (same meaning). PMW 50^{4b}). *jālu-* : the context (it is used beside *pāpā-* and *ārāya-*) pleads in favour of relationship to class. Skt. *jaḍa-* „apathetic, stupid“ (with which already Yāska seems to have associated it, see PW); since the latter word may be explained from Munda (PMW 101 n. 143, 161), the difference between *ḍh* and *ḍ* would not be an obstacle. — *tandrayú-* : derivative of *tand-* (only *tandate* „relaxes, gives way“ I. 138. 1). For the form this might be an inherited IE word but semantically it cannot be connected with Latin *tendo*, despite UHLENBECK, PERSSON, Beitr. idg. Wortf. 342 n. 1, WALDE-POKORNY I, 722. On the other hand, this word-group shows several irregularities which are suggestive of foreign origin: beside the hapax *tandate* the RS has a verbal form from a root *tandr-* in *nā mā taman nā śraman nótā tandran* (*nā vocāma* . . .) II. 30. 7. This

47b) But see now MAYRHOFER, s. v.

form cannot possibly have been derived from the adjective *tandra- (which, for the rest, is not attested in the RS, only átandra- being in use, like atandrita- in the class. language); OLDENBERG, it is true, refers to WHITNEY § 1054, but (as I have tried to demonstrate in „Indogermanische Nasalpräsentia 45 f.) this type of denominative verbs does not occur before the classical language. GRASSMANN proposed to emend it to tandat, cf. MACDONELL, Ved. Gramm. 323 n. 5. However, this would not remove several other difficulties: while átandra „unwearied“ (RS 6) might possibly be referred to a (non-existing) adjective in -ra- (*tand-ra GRASSMANN) instead of deriving it from tandrā- f. „weariness“ Mhbh + (PW), it remains impossible to account for tandrāyate „grows (or, is) weary“ (AB TA) and the verbal adjective tandrāyú- „lazy, slothful“ VIII. 92. 30. Most striking, however are tandrī-, f. (AS Mhbh +) and tandrā-, f. (Mhbh +) „weariness, laziness“, which cannot be explained unless we assume a verbal stem tandr-. Such a root cannot be IE. On the other hand, the occurrence of tandr- beside tand- in Vedic is paralleled by such instances as rāṇdryā/rāṇḍyā VI. 23. 6. kudrīcī Kauś. beside guḍūcī- (dr for ḍ, see Fschr. DEBRUNNER 244ff.). These considerations, which induce us to assume a foreign origin for Ved. tand-, support the etymology proposed in PMW 161 (: Pa. dandha-, BSkt. dhandha- „slow, silly, stupid“ = Mund. Ho ḍoṇḍo „foolish, stupid, ignorant“ and Sant. laṇḍhea, loṇḍhea „lazy, sluggish, indolent“, Mund. Ho laṇḍiā „lazy“)⁴⁸). The adjective átandra- need not be derived, then, from the late noun tandrā-, but may contain *tandra-, a Sanskritized form of *taṇḍa-, which is a variant of Mund. ḍoṇḍo. — niṇyá-: unexplained (WACKERNAGEL I, 192, 195); neither from *niṇi- (: Greek νέτρος Bloch, L'Indo-Aryen 35), nor from *ni-l-ni- (: Latin ollī, Old Ch. Slav. lani, JOHANSSON, Etymologisches und Wortgeschichtliches 39). Foreign origin is unquestionable on phonetical grounds. — phalgvá-: a Pr. Munda word corresponding to Sant. peḍgo „dwarfish, short“ has partly become phalgú- VS, partly (via *phedgu-?) Pa. pheggu-; Pisani's different explanation of the last word in the Rendiconti dell' ist. Lombardo di scienze e lettere 85, 2 does not convince me. BURROW'S suggestion to derive phalgu- from Kann. pol.lu „emptiness, unsubstantialness“, Kui polgu „husk, chaff“ (BSOAS 12, 387) seems to me not preferable because of Pa. pheggu-. — badhirá-: belongs to a group of Pr. Munda „frustration-words“ (baṇḍá-, etc.). Note Hi. bahirā „deaf“: bahilā „barren, sterile“, PMW 102. — ámanda-:

48) After this had been written I saw that Pa. dandha- has been derived from tandr- by several scholars (for references see MAYRHOFER, Archivum Linguisticum II, 137, n. 2). This is of course impossible but the fundamental idea was correct. MAYRHOFER's explanation of dandha- does not seem preferable to me (~ Greek νωθρός, for which see also BECHTEL, Lexilogus zu Homer 237).

manda- (Mar. maidl) is a nasalized variant of baṇḍá-; cf. manthara- (Nep. matthar, Hi. maṭṭharl), mandara- (in the Southern Pañcatantra, Frisk, Nominalbildung 38), vaṭhara-, etc. (from BaD-aD, PMW 102). — alāṭṛṇá-: obviously non-IE, with the same ending as in ambhṛṇá- „tub“ (for ambhaṇa-), cf. also class. Skt. masṛṇa- „soft, smooth, tender“ for *masaṇa- (Pa. masaṇa-, masiṇa-), whether this be explained from Kann. mase „to rub, grind, sharpen“ (BLOCH, BSOS 5, 741) or from mṛtsna-, and ghusṛṇa- „saffron“. It is even possible that mṛṇāla- (beside mulālī-AS) is a Sanskritization of *muṇāla- (but see PMW 83). In any case, alāṭṛṇá- may be a Sanskritization of *alātaṇá-. The word occurs in two passages and seems to be used in somewhat different ways in them. No satisfying meaning has been proposed for it. The Indian interpreters (since Yāska, Nir. 6. 2) had recourse to phantastical etymologies, but also Roth's interpretation „der nichts herausgiebt“ (cf. GRASSMANN, GELDNER, Glossar; „karg, geizig“ pw) is primarily based upon an etymology which is hardly less fanciful than the Indians' and does not suit the context. The same is true of Max MULLER'S rendering „who do not revile“ (lit. „not barking“: Lat. lātrāre, SBE 32, 226—228) and of LUDWIG'S („beweglich“: alarti, Der Rigveda 5, 64). It is no doubt hazardous trying to etymologize a word the meaning of which is unknown, but the passages are not entirely inconclusive. In III. 30. 10 Indra is addressed with the words alāṭṛṇó valá indra vrajó góḥ/purā' hāntor bháyamāna vy ā'ra „..... the valá, the pen of the cattle, opened, full of fear, even before thou struckest it“, while in I. 166. 7 the Maruts are described as being prá skambhádeṣṇā anavabhrárādhaso 'lāṭṛṇā'so vidátheṣu súṣṭutāḥ „Whose gifts are firm, whose bounties cannot be snatched away,, and who are highly praised at the vidáthas“. The general idea expressed by the word in both passages was apparently something like „giving spontaneously“, but since numerous Rigvedic loanwords are composed with the negative a(n)- (e. g. apha-lá-, á-manda-, á-badhira-, anulbaṇá-, aśī-padá-, aśīmidá-) this idea may have been expressed in a negative way. GELDNER conjectures „ohne zurückzufordern (?)“ for the first passage, „die nicht zurückfordern(?)“ for the second. This is not quite plausible with reference to the valá. Moreover, if *lāṭṛṇa- was an adjective (as GELDNER apparently took it) the accent would rather have been *álāṭṛṇa- (WACKER-NAGEL II, 1, 238 f.). Judging from the accent, alāṭṛṇá- must be a bahuvrīhi (WACKER-NAGEL II, 1, 293, especially 295). If, however, the valá is said to have opened, full of fear, and „without a 'lāṭṛṇa-“, even before Indra struck it, the meaning most naturally suiting the context would be „without offering resistance“. Now *lātaṇa- may be a nasalized variant of the type ṭaṅgaṇa- (~ raṅgada-, ṭagara-) „borax“, Pkt.

ḍagaṇa- (~ Mar. *chakḍā*, Bih. *chakṛā*) „cart“, Kann. *jaṇkaṇe* „scolding“ (~ Tel. *jagaḍa*, Kann. *jagala* „quarrel“), Korku *cepen* „to jam“ (~ Mund. *ceped* „flat“), etc. As such it may be a variant of Sant. *letaṛ* „encumbrance, hindrance, impediment“; others words have a cerebral, e.g. *leṭaṇ*, *laṭaṇ*, *laṭak*, *loṭok* (same meaning). This etymology explains how the same word could be applied both to the demoniacal *valā* and to the Maruts: as an epithet of the latter it was used in the sense of „meeting no obstacles, not being opposed to“ (cf. *apratī-*, NEISSER I, 60). —

8. Interjections.

akḥkhalīkr̥tyā VII. 103, 3; *bál*. (*bál*. *itthā'*; *bát* only VIII. 101. 12); *balā'* VIII. 80. 1, *bhala* X. 86. 23 etc. See further MACDONELL, *Ved. Gramm.* 432.

akḥkhalīkr̥tyā: unacceptable THIEME KZ 71, 109 (from **akṣarī-kṛtyā*).

9. Sexual Life.

úlba-, n. „inner covering (amnion) of the embryo“, X. 51. 1 +; *jarā'yu-*, n. „outer covering (chorion) of the embryo“ V. 78. 8, X. 106. 6 +; *budbudáyāśu-* X. 155. 4 (GELDNER: *blasensamig*); *dhāṇikā-*, f. „cunnus“ (AS) in *maṇḍūra-dhāṇikīḥ* (meaning? GELDNER: *mit verrosteter Scham*) X. 155. 4; *turīpa-*, „spermatic; n. „seminal fluid“ I. 142. 10, III. 4. 9; *prapharvī-*, f. „a wanton woman“ X. 85. 22 AS etc.; *yā'durī*, id. I. 126. 6. In connection with *jaghāṇa-*, m. „hip, loin, buttock, pudenda“ I. 28. 2 VI. 75, 13. +, *takarī-* AS YV will be discussed.

úlba-: since POTT, *Etym. Forsch.* II (1836) 273 it has been connected with Latin *vulva* but the alternation *úlba-*: *úlva-* (*Vedic Variants* II § 219) rather suggests a foreign origin, perhaps **ulu* + *a*. This is not however supported by *ulūka-* „Netzhaut“ (quoted by WACKERNAGEL I, 218) which seems to have been deduced from the commentary on AB II. 7. 10. Skt. *ulbaṇa-* (klumpig, massenhaft PW) is also obscure. Suffix *-aṇa-* or rather prefix *ul-* (PMW 147)? — *jarāyu-*: Pa. *jalābu-* may be due to a specific Pali development (GEIGER, *Pali* 60), but note *jāru-JB* and *jāru-ja-AA* (quoted in the *Vedic Index* I, 278) and the meaning „serpent's skin“ in AS I. 27. 1. — *budbudáyāśu-*: X. 155. abounds in foreign words. *Budbuda-* is a Proto-Munda word if the explanation proposed in PMW 107 is correct. The origin of *yāśu-* (*yāśūnām* I. 126. 6) is unknown. Cf. *yādú-Nigh.* 1, 12, and *yā'durī-* I. 126. 6? — *dhāṇikā-*: cf. *dhā-rakā-* VS; nasalization of *ṛ/ḍ* (see above *alātr̥ṇā-*). This excludes the possibility of etymological connections with Greek *θόγνυσθαι* (WACKERNAGEL I, 192 with references). *Maṇḍūra-* must also be a loanword but its meaning is doubtful (see n. 39b).

— *tuṛīpa-*: derivation unknown. — *prapharvī-*: also in AS YV (Vedic Index II, 37), cf. *prabhharvī-* (RENOU, Grammaire de la langue védique 15). These forms point to *prapharu-/prabhharu-* „lascivious”, which cannot be separated from the words with a radical element *mar-*, *baṭ-*, *paṭ-*, viz. class. *bhra-mara-*, m. „a lover, gallant, libertine” (: Sant *bhaṇḍ mara* „lascivious, dissolute”), lex. *bar-baṭī-*, f. „whore” (: Kann. *baḍḍi*, Tam. *paṭṭi*, id.), and *lam-paṭa-* „licentious” (: Sant. *lampoṭ*, *lam oṭ*, id.). PMW 114, Myth 7 n. 4. Several Santali words belonging to this group end in *-u*, cf. *baṭu* (*baṭua*, *baṭwā*) and *bhaṇḍu*. Probably, therefore, *prapharu-* existed in this form in some Proto-Munda language and has simply been adapted to the Sanskrit grammatical system. — *yāḍurī-*: not sufficiently explained, see above *budbudāyāśu*. *takarī-*: in a magical incantation „for successful childbirth” TS III. 3. 10. 1 and 4. 1. 2 (ĀpŚ IX. 19. 3) reads *vī te bhinadmi takarīm*, *vī yónim vī gavīnyaū*. Here KS XIII. 9 (: 161,5) has *takarim*, ASPaipp. XX. 25. 10 *vī te cṛtāmi tagarim*. The context shows that some part of the female pudenda must be meant: *méhanam*, which takes its place in AS I. 11. 5 is a mechanical reproduction of I. 3. 7 and cannot be taken as an indication for the meaning of *takarīm* (Ved. Variants II, 31), the very reason for its substitution probably being that the obscure word *takarī-* was no longer understood. *Takarī-* is used in collocation with *gavīnī-* TS, *gavenī-* ASPaipp. (cf. *gavīnikā-* in the corresponding passage of AS), which is a Dravidian word; cf. for the form Tel. *gavini*, *gavāni*, *gaviḍi* „city-gate” (Tam. *kavuni* „gate of a fort”), and for the meaning Tam. *kavaṭu* „branch of a tree, forked branch; fork of the legs, stride, pace” (*kavaṭṭu-vai-* „to pace, straddle, stride”, *kavaṭṭu-k-kāl* „bandy legs”), *kavaṭṭai*, *kavaṭṭi* „fork of a branch, fork of the legs”, *kavuṭṭi* „space between the thighs”, *kavān* „thigh”, *kappu* „branch, cleavage” and *kavai-*, *kavar-*, *kavi-*, Tulu *kava-*, Kann. *kaval-* „to fork, branch off”, Kann *kaval* „a forked branch or stick”, etc. The same semantic differentiation of „bifurcated, branching off” into „fork of the legs” and „wide open (door)” is found in *kavāś(a)-*, cf. on the hand *āchidre śróṇī kavāśorū* ... *kṛṇutāt* MS IV. 13. 4 (: 203. 14) etc. „he must make his thighs wide-spread” [not „(wie) zwei Türflügel” WAK-KERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER III, 323], and on the other hand *vī pákṣobhiḥ śráyamāṇā úd ātaiḥ* *kavāśaḥ* *dvāro devīḥ* TS MS KS (with variant *kavāyaḥ*, see PMW 130) and *kavāṭa-*, m. „door-pannel”. A similar semantic development has been pointed out for Hi. *caḍḍhā* „groin”

(PMW 160) ⁴⁹). In just the same manner *takarī-* may be derived from Munda **dag-* (**da-ga*) „bifurcated“, cf. Sant. *ḍak ḍaka* „wide-spreading“, Korku *dāgān* „branch of a tree“ (nasalized form of *DaG-aD*, cf. the loanwords Pkt. *dāga-*, n., Kui *dēga*, Kann. *ṭonge*, Hi. *ḍōghī*, *ṭahnī*, Mar. *ḍākhī*, *ḍāglī*, id.), Sant. *cag caga* „to part the legs wide“, *caṅga* „bifurcated, bough of a tree“, *caṅ caṅ* „straddling“, Mund. *caṅga* „to bifurcate, keep the legs wide apart“, etc. PMW 65, 159f. In Aryan loanwords we find both the meaning „a pace, a step“ (e. g. in Hi. *ḍag*, Nep *ḍeg*, *ḍek*, *ṭeko*) and the meaning „leg, thigh“, e. g. Skt. lex. *ṭanka-*, *ṭaṅga-*, m. n., *ṭaṅkā-*, f., Pkt. *ṭaṅkā-*, Beng. *ṭān*, *ṭheṇ*, etc. Note the meaning of Hi. *ṭaṅg*, *ṭāg*, Mar. *ṭāg* „the leg from the hip to the foot“. This is accordingly quite parallel to Tam. *kavaṭṭ-aṭi* „stride, pace; private parts“. In most of these languages side-forms from *DaG-aD* exist beside those derived from *DaG*, e. g. Sant. *caṅ(g)ra* „bough“ beside *caṅga*, id., Mar. *taṅgaḍ*, *taṅgaḍī*, Hi. *ṭaṅgrī*, *ṭaṅgrī* „leg, thigh“, Beng. *ṭeṅgrī* „leg of meat“ beside Mar. *ṭāg*, Hi. *ṭaṅg*, Beng. *ṭheṇ*, etc. While Mar. *taṅgaḍī*, Hi. *ṭaṅgrī* must be comparatively recent borrowings from Munda **taṅgaḍ-ī*⁵⁰), the Vedic forms *takarī-* / *tagari-* represent a much earlier borrowing from Proto-Munda **takaṛ-i* / **tagaṛ-i*. A parallel instance is Ved. *kubhrá-*, m. „hump-backed bull“ MS : Hi. *kubrā*, Mar. *kubḍā* „humpbacked“ (Sant. *kubḍha*, PMW 43). Now a phonetic variant of Sant. *caṅgra* : *caṅga* is found in Hi. *jāgar* „(the thigh and) the leg“ : Kann. *jaṅge* „a stride“. Just as Korku *dāgān* „branch“ represents the nasalized variant of **dag-ad*, so we may expect beside **jag-ad* a variant **jag-an* (cf. **lataṇ* : Sant. *letaṛ*, etc. s. v. *alāṭṛṇá-*). We are now in a position to consider the Rīgvedic word *jaghāna-*, m. (Schamgegend). It has always been connected with *jāṅghā-*, f. „leg from knee to ankle“, Av. *zaṅga-*, m. „ankle“ (contrasting with *rāna-* „upper part of the leg“), Pahl. *zaṅg*, Oss. *zāṅgā* „under part of the leg“ (cf. PW, POKORNY 438). Not before the NIA period however, seems this word to have come to denote the upper part of the leg (thigh), see TURNER *jāgh*. The evidence of older Indo-Iranian seems accordingly to exclude the derivation from *jāṅghā-*, unless we should consider Greek *χωχώνη* „groin“ a sufficient support for the assumption of an IE word **ghṇgh-n-* „groin“. I think, neither the Greek word (which is obscure)

49) For Pkt. *caḍaī* „sits upon“ (properly „sits astride“?) cf. the semantic parallels Mon *kēp* „to be forked, to sit astride“ and Sant. *coga* „to straddle, to sit astride“, *coghe* „to sit astride, to mount, ascend“ (cf. Hi. *caṭhnā*!) For *caḍ-* / *taḍ-* see PMW 34, 65, 160.

50) Mund. *taṅgaḍi* and Korku *tiṅgiḍi* are reborrows from Aryan.

nor the isolation of *jaghána-* in Aryan (a correspondent Iranian word **zagana-* or **dagana-* does not exist) justifies this inference. Ved. *jaghána-* is rather to Kann. *jaṅge* „stride“, what Nep. *ḍheṇ*, *ḍhiṇ* „vulva“ is to *ḍeg* „a pace, stride“. Both meanings are expressed by Mar. *ḍhēg* „a stride, a step, the space between the thighs of one standing up“. The Austro-Asiatic origin of **dag/*jag* appears from Central Sakai *cok*, *cak* „branch, bough“ ~ Sembrong *če-don* „bough of a tree“, *če-daṇ* „branch of a river“ (prefix *če-*, see SCHMIDT, *Sprachen der Sakei und Semang*, pp. 431, 511).

F. RELIGION.

This is perhaps the most interesting aspect of the aboriginal influence on the Rigvedic civilization. It is, however, impossible to treat it adequately within the limited compass of this article. Only a few points may be briefly pointed out.

When we exclude those names of demons which probably were simply tribal names of the indigenous population (e. g. *Śámbara-*, *Sṛbinda-*), there remain some names of demons which may have been adopted from some native form of religion, e. g. *piśāci-* I. 133. 5, *kimīdīn-* VII. 104. 23, X. 87. 24, and *nicumpuṇā-* VIII. 93. 22.

Neither the specific character, nor the name of the *Piśācas* is clear. See for the first point, e. g. Vedic Index I. 533, CHARPENTIER, *Kleine Beiträge zur indo-iranischen Mythologie* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1911, vol. I 1 ff. and KEITH, *Religion and Philos. of the Veda* 238 f., and cf. such words as Pkt. *ṭeḍḍa-* („śalabhaḥ piśācaś ca“), *ṭola-* („śalabhaḥ, piśāca ity anye“). For the name cf. Pkt. *pisalla-*, *piśāji-* (PISCHEL § 232, resp. § 202). — *Kimīdīn-*: the name of the demoness *śimīdā-* AS is apparently identical with *śimīda-* and *śipada-*, names of diseases in VII. 50, 4; an indication as to the meaning of the latter may perhaps be found in *ślīpada-*, n. „elephantiasis“ Suśr., if this is a later form of the same word which is due to popular etymology (and, perhaps, to a euphemistic tendency, HUIZINGA, *Album Kern* 154). A variation *k: ś* occurs in *kambu- śambu-*, m. „shell“ (the latter being related to Guj. *simpu*, *chīp*, Kann. *simpu*, *cimpu*, *cippu*, Tulu *cippi*, *tippi*, ultimately to Skt. (*jala-*)*ḍimba-*, cf. Master JBBRAS N. S. 5, 117 BURROW, BSOAS 12, 394 f., PMW 66). In the same way (or, if *ki-* *śi-* are prefixes, like *kabara-*: *śabara-* AO 16, 306) *kimīd-* might be a variant of *śimīd-*. — *nicumpuṇā-*: variants are *nicuṇkuṇa-* MS KS, *nicaṇkuṇā-* TS „vielleicht ein dem Wasser innewohnender lustrierender Genius“, OLDENBERG ad VIII. 93. 22; GELDNER: *sprudelnd* (?). Also *Araṇyānī-* (X. 146) must be mentioned. This „mother of the wild animals“ (*mṛgāṇām mātā*) is, in spite of her

apparently Aryan name, no doubt one of the indigenous „jungle mothers“ (CROOKE, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1896, I, 114 ff.). Note the foreign words in X. 146!

The notion „auspicious“ is sometimes expressed by the foreign words *púṇya-*, *sumaṅgála-* and *ádurmaṅgála-*.

púṇya-: proper meaning probably „beautiful, good“, cf. *bhadrám ā' vada . . . púṇyam ā' vada* II. 43. 2 (appendix) and *púṇyagandha-*. WACKERNAGEL I, 192 traces it back to **pṛṇya-* (from the present *pṛṇāti*) and refers to *púṇya-* = *pūrtá-* „verdienstliches Werk“. Although accepted by BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryen* 55, T. MICHELSON, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 40, 23 etc. this cannot be correct because nominal forms derived from the present-stem *pṛṇā* occur only in the isolated compounds *sadāpṛṇá-* „always giving“ V. 44. 12 (hapax) and *āpṛṇo 'si sampṛṇaḥ* ŚS I. 15. 16, whereas the synonymy of *púṇya-* and *pūrtá-* is the result of a later development (*pūrtá-* properly meaning „what has been given“, AO 16, 313 ff., while *púṇya* seems still to have the general meaning of *bhadrá-* in the RS). Besides a sound-change *ṛṇ > uṇ* is very rare in the Rigvedic period. Unacceptable is also KITTEL XL. — *maṅgála-*: unexplained (cf. e. g. SCHEFTELOWITZ, KZ 58, 133!).

A word for an offering is *balí-*, which has always been restricted to popular forms of religion until the classical period. This is a Dravidian word (Kann. *baLi* „gift“, Tel. *vali* „offering of rice“, etc. KITTEL XLI). Specific forms of tree-worship are likely to have been adopted from the aboriginal tribes: the notion of fertility associated with the *udumbára-* (*ficus glomerata*), which induced newly-married couples to pray to it for offspring (PMW 25) was expressed by the Proto-Munda name; it will therefore have been adopted with the name. The invading Aryans were acquainted with the religious concept of the Tree of Life as the cosmic centre — the Avestan evidence alone suffices to prove this. The fact, however, that at a very early date (probably already in the RS, in any case in the AS) the *aśvatthá-* (*ficus religiosa*) has come to be regarded as the natural representative of this mythological tree (and as a substitute, accordingly, for the oak or ash) can only be explained as an adoption of indigenous mythological conceptions. The importance attached to its berries (*pippála-*, n.) since the oldest texts (I. 164. 20, 24; they were to give the tree its modern name *Peepal* since the Mhbh.) and the associations between *pippála-* and *phála-* should be noted, e. g. TS V. 1. 5. 10 „*púṣpāvatīḥ supippalā*“

ity āha, tásmād óśadhayaḥ phálam gr̥hṇanti. See also above, p. 144. — In view of the fact that pīyū'sa- „biestings" is used in the RS as a term for the sap of the Soma-plant the question may be raised whether this is a trace of a specific cattle-breeders' religion of Proto-Munda tribes, which might also account for the remarkable rôle of the cooked rice-milk (kṣīrapākām oḍanām VIII. 77. 10, cf. I. 1. 7) in what apparently has been a Proto-Munda cosmogonical myth. This myth of the boar Emuśá-, equated with the Vṛtra-myth, is a trace of a non-Aryan mythology in the Rigveda⁵¹). It is possible that árbuda-, which probably was primarily the name of a mountain, is a reflex of aboriginal conceptions of a primordial hill (PMW 146), but, if so, the Aryans, by incorporating this local cult-form into their own religious beliefs, have hardly added anything new to these.

More important, it seems, is the myth of Agastya and Lopamudrā. On the nature of the Agastya-myth, and on the essential rôle which the kumbha- plays in this myth (VII. 33. 13) C. C. Berg has made some important observations in his recent book⁵²). Apart from these it may be pointed out that the words prajā'm āpatyam bálam ichámānaḥ / ubhaú vārṇāv r̥ṣir ugráḥ puṣa I. 179. 6 seem to indicate that Agastya was considered the father of the ārya vārṇa and the dāsá vārṇa (the social representatives of the two cosmic moieties). Cf. the parallel phrase in puṣa prajā'h purudhā' iajāna III. 55. 19 (: X. 170. 1). As such he would represent the (social and cosmic) totality, like Kaśyapa-Prajāpati in the Aryan myth. This point will be dis-

51) For the name Emuśá- some suggestions have been made in Myth 16: in the present state of these studies it seems justifiable to point out in which directions future solutions may possibly be found. Beside the NIA words for „swine" there mentioned attention may be drawn to Kharia bunui „hog, swine" and to Sora kěmbun- „pig" (Ramamurti, Grammar p. 149, but kěmbú- on p. 75; kěmbud- means „bear"). Different in form is Korku badu „hog", different in meaning are Mund. boda merom, Kharia bota merom (?), Juang boda, „he-goat" (cf. Tam. mōttai „a ram, a buck-goat"?). Is Skt. potrin- „hog, pig" (Vikramāṅkac., Bhojaprabandha) derived from potra-, n. „snout of a hog" (Harsacar.), or is the latter word inferred from potrin-, which then may be a Sanskritization of *poṭṭi- Pkt. bundi-? Tam. pōttiri is a lw.

52) Herkomst, Vorm en Functie der Middeljavanse Rijksdelings-theorie (Verhandelingen der Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen N. R. LIX, 1, 1953), p. 60 ff.

cussed elsewhere. It is possible that Agásti- (the oldest form of the name) is a Sanskritization of Agatti-, a derivative of the Dravidian word for „jar, pot“ (Tam. akalam, akaLi, akaI). The fact that Agastya has always been worshipped as a Kulturheros especially in South-India may ultimately be due to his being the specifically Dravidian figure of First Man. Similar suggestions might be made with regard to other mythological figures.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the materials discussed is, I think, that the vast majority of the Rigvedic loan-words belong to the spheres of domestical and agricultural life. They belong not only to the popular speech (which has never been questioned) but, as far as they allow any decision at all, to the specific language of an agrarian population. There is little to suggest the influence of urban life and civilization⁵³). This certainly does not entitle us to deny the existence of such an influence: the only thing we can say is that clear linguistic evidence for it is still lacking.

(April 1954)

[Addendum: for kīri, p. 176, see now MAYRHOFER p. 215.]

53) Cf. MACKAY (see footn. 3), index. s. vv. „Jewellery“ and „Pottery“ and cf. the chapter on „Dress and personal Ornaments“ (p. 77 ff.).

SANSKRIT INFLUENCE ON MALAYALAM

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INTRODUCTION

Malayalam is one of the main cultivated languages belonging to the Dravidian family, and is spoken by nearly twenty million people on the west coast of South India, now forming the linguistic state of Kerala; and also by a large number of Malayalis living in other parts of India and abroad. Malayalam and Tamil belong to one subgroup of the South Dravidian branch. Both modern Malayalam and modern Tamil can be traced back to the ancient Tamil. There has been difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Malayalam is a sister of Tamil or a daughter; but the close relationship between the two languages has not been questioned. The west coast dialect of Tamil had a natural growth, free from the clutches of the strict rules of Tamil grammar, and later absorbed and assimilated the rich treasures of the Sanskrit language. It accepted all the non-Dravidian phonemes of the Sanskrit language and there was a successful attempt at mixing the local Malayalam language and Sanskrit in what is known as the *Maṇipravāla* style. The independence of Malayalam as a separate language starts from about the eighth or ninth century A.D.

According to the orthodox traditional theory in India, Sanskrit is the ancient eternal (*anādi*) language from which all other languages had their origin. The *Līlātilakam*, a fourteenth century Sanskrit text on the *Maṇipravālam*, language and literature generally accepts this theory in principle. *Āndhrabhāṣā bhūṣaṇamu* (verse 13) considers Sanskrit as the mother of all languages; the Telugu scholar C. Narayana Rao follows the same view in his History of Telugu language and literature. In Malayalam Kovunni Nedungadi suggested that Sanskrit is the source of Malayalam (*Samskṛtahimagīrijātā*). L.A. Ravi Varma who demonstrated that the South Indian scripts are derived from the Brahmi script, gave 570 Malayalam roots with the corresponding Sanskrit roots, and 100 Malayalam names with the corresponding Sanskrit parallels, suggesting a close relationship between the two languages. *Vatakkunkūr Rajaraja Varma Raja* was also a staunch advocate of Sanskrit origin for Malayalam.

It may be noted that though *Līlātilakam* generally accepted that Sanskrit was the source for all other languages including Malayalam, it had noted the distinction between the relation of Malayalam with *Coḷa bhāṣā* (Tamil), Telugu and Kannada on the one hand and the relation of Malayalam

with Sanskrit. Following the lead of *Kumārilabhaṭṭa's Tantravārttika*, the author of the *Līlātilakam* strongly attacked the tendency of some scholars at arbitrarily deriving *rūḍhi* Malayalam words from imaginary Sanskrit words. Malayalam words whose cognates are seen in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada were not considered as derived from them, but as parallel to them. The idea of a distinct family of South Indian languages seems to have occurred to the author of the *Līlātilakam*. Francis Whyte Ellis, who was the Collector of Madras under the East India Company from 1810 till his death at the age of fortyone in 1819, was the first European scholar to declare that Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam belong to a family of languages which has no racial connection to Sanskrit. In his *Essay on Telugu* published in 1916 in the *Telugu Grammar* by A.D. Campbell, he stated that none of these languages is derived from Sanskrit, that the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessarily for its existence, and that these languages form a distinct family of languages with which the Sanskrit has in later times especially intermixed, but with which it has no racial connection. As Burnell pointed out in his note published in the *Indian Antiquary* (1878) along with Ellis' essay on Malayalam language, the essay on Telugu, and the dissertation on Malayalam show that Ellis had recongnized the principles of comparative philosophy independently of the work being done in Europe and should therefore be considered as one of the founders of the science of linguistics.

Jespersen's claim that Rasmus Rask (born in Denmark in 1787) was the real founder of comparative linguistics and that he was the first to see that the Dravidian (by him called Malabaric) language were totally different from Sanskrit cannot be taken seriously, for it was only in 1823 that Rask noticed the distinction and that much earlier than that, the question had been clearly solved by F.W. Ellis.

The close affinity between Tamil and Malayalam was noticed by Ellis; he declared that Malayalam and *Koṭumtamil* were off-shoots of Cem Tamil.

Since the essays of Ellis were not published in Europe in his time, they did not exert any influence on the general stream of scholarship in Europe, which was mainly interested in the Indo-European languages.

It was Robert Caldwell who used the term Dravidian to this family of languages, and established that these South Indian languages belong to a family totally different from Sanskrit. His monumental work, *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, first published in 1856 was acclaimed by modern scholars as the foundation for Dravidian Linguistic studies. Though there were some criticisms against the book, they could not disturb the basic theory established by Caldwell. He too considered Malayalam as an off-shoot of Tamil. The concept of a subgroup in general and subgroups in Dravidian in particular developed only recently, and

Caldwell was referring only in terms of close or distant relation among the languages. Gundert was not in favour of the theory of Malayalam being an off-shoot of Tamil but considered it a sister language.

A.R. Raja Varma, author of the *Keralapāṇinīyam* generally followed the views of Dr. Caldwell, and said that Malayalam branched off from *Koṭum* Tamil by about the beginning of the Kollam era. He gave six changes that distinguished Malayalam from Tamil.

1. *anunāsikātiprasaram* 'nasal assimilations'
2. *tālavayādeśam* 'palatalization' (of dentals after palatal vowels and semi vowels).
3. *svarasaṃvaraṇam* 'vowel contraction' (ai > a, u)
4. *puniṣabhedanirāsam* 'rejection of gender markers' (in finite verbs).
5. *Khilopasaṃgraha* 'retention of archaic forms' and
6. *angabhangam* 'mutilation of old forms'

L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer who made a comparative and historical study of the Dravidian languages tried to establish that Malayalam was derived from Early Middle Tamil. A.C. Sekhar's study of 34 west-coast inscriptions is based on the theories of L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer. There were some scholars like Attoor Krishna Pisharoti, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyer, K. Godavarma who advocated an independent historical development for Malayalam; Dr. K.M. George has also a similar view. They would consider Malayalam to have derived directly from Proto-South Dravidian. This view is rejected by many modern linguists like Zwelebel, Bh. Krishnamurti, Andronov and S.V. Shanmugam.

It may be noted that the author of the *Līlātilakam* had pointed out some of the distinctions between *Keralabhāṣā* and *Colabhāṣā* or *Pāṇḍyabhāṣā* (Tamil):

Pāṇḍyabhāṣā

vantān
iruntān
yān
yānai
atanai
itanai
āvinatu

Keralabhāṣā

vannān
irunnān
ñān
āna
atina
itine
āvinre

Mention may be made here to the theory of Elankulan Kunhan Pillai that Malayalam was formed by mixing Sanskrit and *Prakṛt* with local lan-

guage, namely the West Coast dialect of Tamil. He quotes *Līlātilakam* in favour of his view; but *Līlātilakam* is rejecting Sanskrit Syntax for Malayalam and disapproving usages like the following:

Kāntanoṭutsukam, Kāntannu Kōpikkinratukānta, Maraṅkalute māvu nanru, saying that the intended meaning cannot be conveyed by such usages *abhimatārthāpratīteh*

Dr. K.M. George suggested that there was a Paccamalayalam stream even in ancient times; his arguments are based on the form of proverbs and idioms and folk literature. But it is to be noted that proverbs and idioms undergo phonological and even morphological changes from generation to generation and their modern forms do not necessarily exhibit their earlier linguistic structures.

No serious scholar now considers that Malayalam is derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit or belongs to the Indo-European family of languages; but at the same time no one can deny the vital role played by Sanskrit in the evolution of Malayalam and in the development of Malayalam language and literature.

The orthodox traditional view that Sanskrit is the eternal language (*anādi*) and that all other languages are derived from it has been questioned even by orthodox scholars. *Annambhaṭṭa* in his commentary on *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* raises the objection, though as a *Pūrvapakṣa*, to the general assumption: 'when God created the Mlecchas, he must have created a language to them; there is no reason to assume that they were speaking Sanskrit at first, which later became the corrupt *Mlecchabhāṣā*.'

Malayalam might have branched off from Tamil at some stage; but its development as a separate language is mainly due to the impact of Sanskrit. Tamil had confined itself to the Dravidian phonematic pattern, and could not accommodate Sanskrit loan words containing non-Dravidian phonemes; *palam*, *phalam* and *balam*, three distinct words in Sanskrit, would all be represented as *palam* in Tamil. This limitation is partly responsible for Sanskrit loan words being less in Tamil than in Malayalam. Sanskrit words had to be Dravidianized before being accepted into Tamil. Malayalam accepted the entire Sanskrit phonemes and was also to borrow Sanskrit words directly as *Tatsema*-s, besides the *Tadbhava* forms already available in Tamil and Prakrit. There was no restriction in borrowing Sanskrit words. The west coast dialect of Tamil could absorb and assimilate the rich treasures of the Sanskrit language, and the strict application of Tamil grammatical rules was not observed here. Malayalam grew as a result of the complete freedom for natural growth, along with the powerful impact of Sanskrit language and literature.

The staging of select acts from Sanskrit plays at the temple theatres *kūttampalam* by the *Cākayārs* was also responsible for the development of Malayalam. The *Vidūṣaka* used to explain Sanskrit and Prakrit passages in Malayalam, often introducing humorous parodies in a macaronic mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam which later came to be known as *Manipravālam*. The *Nambūtiri* Brahmins of Kerala who were great scholars in Sanskrit encouraged and enriched this type of literature. What was started for humour soon became popular, and poets began to write serious poetry in this language.

Two parallel developments are clearly seen in the early Malayalam literature - one called *Pāṭṭi* as in the *Rāmacaritam* of *Cīrāman*, and the other called *Manipravālam*. The former is Tamil-dominated and written on the model of Tamil works, eschewing all non-Dravidian phonemes, using Tamil metre and having the Tamil rhymes *etuka* and *mona*; and the other overloaded with Sanskrit words in the macaronic style. In course of time Tamil influence became less and less. Scholars began to write in pure Sanskrit or *Manipravāla* and the literature was fully influenced by Sanskrit both in form and in Content. This state of affairs continued till recently.

The *Rāmacaritam*, containing 1814 stanzas divided into 164 sections, belongs to the Tamil dominated *Pāṭṭi* literature. It excludes all non-Dravidian phonemes of the Sanskrit language. The *Līlātilakam* defines *Pāṭṭi* as follows.

*Dramiḍasanghatākṣaranibaddham
ētukāmonavṛttaviśeṣayuktam pāṭṭi.*

Dravidianized Sanskrit words and pure Sanskrit words which are within the Dravida phonematic pattern are allowed in *Pāṭṭi*. Some scholars like L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer and M.M. Purushothaman Nair considered that the *Rāmacaritam* represented the early Malayalam language. L.V. Ramaswamy Aiyer said, "The *pāṭṭi* referred to here was a literary form inherited by Malayalam from an ancient stage when the affinities of Malayalam to Tamil were far more intimate than at the time of *Līlātilakam* (1972:103) Purushothaman Nair observed, "Almost all linguistic peculiarities attested in *Rāmacaritam* are essentially features characteristic of the language of that period (1980:89)". But K.N. Ezhuthacchan held the view that the language of the *Rāmacarita* is as artificial as that of the *Manipravālam* works. Besides the prepondering Tamil elements and the absence of non-Dravidian Sanskrit phonemes, the *Rāmacaritam* also contains Sanskrit words with Sanskrit suffixes and even Malayalam words with Sanskrit suffixes, though rarely.

*ukkirāya nama nānmukāya nama (96.9)
campuvāya nama tāṇuvāya nama (96.11)*

(*ukkirāya* = *ugrāya*, *Campuvāya* = *Śambhava*, *tāṇuvāya* = *sthāṇave*)

Tatsama and Dravidianized tadbhava words are borrowed from Sanskrit as in Tamil, and greater emphasis is made on Tamil construction and Tamil word so that the first impression the reader gets is that the work is semi-Tamil. But it need not necessarily represent a stage in the development of Malayalam when it had not fully become independent of Tamil.

The *Rāmakathappāṭṭa* by *Ayyanpillai Āśān*, edited by P.K. Narayana Pillai is another voluminous Malayalam poem where the influence of Tamil is seen very much though there is no attempt to eschew non-Tamil phonemes as in the *Rāmacaritam*. The language is a mixture of colloquial Tamil and old Malayalam reflecting many features of the bilingual dialect spoken in South Travancore which is the origin of this folk epic'.

Next come the *Kaṇṇaśśan Pāṭṭukal* by the poets of Niranam who wrote on *Purāṇic* themes in the Dravidian metres in a mixed language borrowing loan words from Sanskrit and Tamil : *Rāma Paṇikkar* wrote the *Bhāgavatam*; *Rāmāyaṇam* etc. *Mādhava Paṇikkar* wrote the *Bhagavadgīta* and *Śankara Paṇikkar* wrote the *Bhāratamāla*. The restriction to the Dravidian phonemes has been given up and unassimilated Sanskrit words have been used.

“*ā kathitam tava vṛttam atīva*
purāṇa mahāmuniyālidam ennān”
Śukavāṇim mama bhāryām kaṇṭīro?”

It also contains many archaic old Malayalam forms.

Kṛṣṇagātha of the fifteenth century written under the patronage of King Udaya Varman of *Kolattunād* (14.), ascribed to *Ceruśśeri Nambutiri*, may be considered as heralding modern Malayalam. The language is free from the archaic and unfamiliar usages found in earlier works. It avoids Sanskrit words with Sanskrit suffixes to a great extent; it uses personal suffixes for finite verbs profusely, and some rare *Tadbhava* forms like *kañcan* (for *Kaṁsan*), *añcanam* (for *añjanam*) *kāriyam* (for *kāryam*). The imagery and figures of speech are profusely taken from classical Sanskrit literature, but used in an original manner. The metre is Dravidian and is known as *Mañjari*. In the concluding portion there are some *manipravāla* forms.

vividhāgamavacasām api poruḷākiya bhagavān
vidhuśekharaṇ upagamya ca madhusūdana savidhe.

The two parallel developments - *pāṭṭa* leaning towards Tamil and *Manipravālam* leaning on Sanskrit converge into a single stream with *Ezhuttachan* and *Pūntānam*. *Tuñcattu Rāmānujan* *Ezhuttachan* is traditionally considered as the father of Malayalam language. He flourished in the second half

of the sixteenth century in central Kerala. He translated the *Adhyātmarāmāyanam* and wrote the independent work *Bhāratam*, in the *Kūlippāṭṭu* style, using Dravidian metres like *kēka*, *kākalī*, *Kaḷakañci* and *Annanāṭa*. Simple Sanskrit words, even those with Sanskrit terminations were sometimes used, but clarity was fully maintained. Some usages like the following-

'adya vā śvo vā varunnatum, unṭu nām'
'papraccha nīyārayaccu vannū kape'
ahamahamikādhiyā pāvakajvālaka!
ambarattoḷam uyamnu cennū mudā.

contain more Sanskrit, but normally the language is acceptable even to modern people.

The name of *Pūntānam* deserves special mention. His *Jñānappāna* and *Santānagopālam* in *Pāna* metre are written in a style which can be taken as a standard for perfect Malayalam even now.

kūṭiyallā pirakkunna nērttum
kūṭiyallā marikkunna nērttum
madhye yinṇane kāṇunna nerattu
matsarikkunnatentinu nām vṛthā

(*Jñānappāna*)

Kuñcan Nampyar claimed that he is using *Maṇipravāla* style containing more Malayalam words than Sanskrit. Stray instances where the adjectives are put in the same case-ending as the noun qualified are seen.

kamalākāntante kārunyaśilante
kamanīyāṅgante kāmasamānante
gamanasannāham kēṭṭu viṣādiccu
kamani pāñcāli Devanārāyaṇa!

(*Patinnālu Vṛttam*)

Rarely even in modern poetry such usages are found:

patināṇu pūkkani kāṇāttōrī
kariviṭṭippāvaye pūmeyyāle

(*N.V. Orupāṭṭi*)

Concordance of the adjective and the noun in gender and number was observed in Malayalam prose even in the beginning of this century; even now they are used to some extent. But in the case of neuter gender words this concordance is not observed generally.

- a) *lalitamāya kaikal*
mṛdulamāya vikāraṇi nī al
rāṣṭrīyamāya viṣayaṇi nī
sundaramāya citraṇi nī al
nūtanamāya kalārūpaṇi nī al
janmasiddhamāya vāsanaka
- b) *mantradraṣṭākkaḷāya maharṣipungavanmār*

2. SANSKRIT LOANWORDS IN MALAYALAM

1. Malayalam has appropriated a large number of Sanskrit words as Dravidianized derivatives (*Tadbhavas*) in the early period, and directly as *Tatsamas* without much change during the middle and later periods. *Tatsama* Sanskrit words coming within the Dravidian phonemic system were borrowed even during the early period. The rules of Dravidianization (*āriyacutavū*) are to some extent similar to the rules of Prakritization. And it is also a fact that many of the Sanskrit loan-words came to Malayalam not directly, but indirectly through Prakrits and Pali. Even in the case of *Tatsama* loan words there have been minor changes in form as well as meaning.

Although the majority of Sanskrit loan words retain their original Sanskrit meaning, some of them acquire new meanings in Malayalam, without giving up the original meanings; thus they can be used in both senses - the original sense and the newly acquired sense. In the case of *Tadbhava* loan words also, some of them acquire new and specialized meanings in Malayalam; the original words are also used in the *Tatsama* form, mostly in their original meanings, e.g. *jalam* 'water', *calam* 'pus'.

Tadbhava forms predominate in the early literature; later *Tatsama* forms became numerous. Old *Tadbhava* forms continued to be used even then, but taking in of new *Tadbhava* forms from Sanskrit became rare. Since the entire Sanskrit phonemes are accepted in mediaeval and later Malayalam, the need for Dravidianization is absent.

Minor changes in the forms of *Tatsama* loanwords

a) **Nominal stems:** Heterosyllabic nominal stems undergo certain changes before the Malayalam suffixes are added.

- i) In the case of masculine words ending in 'a', -n is added. *Rāma* > *Rāman*, *deva* > *devan*, *putra* > *putran* etc.

Since Malayalam does not follow the Sanskrit gender system, but follows the natural gender, words of masculine gender in Sanskrit, which are only neuter gender naturally, take the suffix -m

vrkṣa > *vrkṣam*; *samudra* > *samudram*. Sanskrit words of neuter gender ending in *a*, also behave similarly.

dhanam, *jalam*, *puspam*,

ii) Feminine words ending in *ā*, *ī*, *ū* lose their lengthening.

bhāryā > *bhārya*; *Sītā* > *Sīta*;
nadī > *nadi*; *vadhū* > *vadhu*

Monosyllabic stems, however, retain their lengthening:

mā-yuṭe, *Strī-yuṭe*, *bhūvinte*, *gō vinde*, *śrī yuṭe*, *dhī-yuṭe*.

In certain cases *ā*-ending heterosyllabic feminine words get the suffix *-v* before the addition of nominal declensional suffixes.

dayā > *daya*, *dayavā*
kanyā > *kanya*, *kanyāvā*

This is found in some other cases also in a hap-hazard manner.

uttaram > *uttaravā*.. *ādaram* > *ādaravā*

iii) In the case of words ending in *-ṛ*, *-vā* is added to the form of the nominative singular.

bhartā > *bhartāvā* *kartā* > *kartāvā*
mātā > *mātāvā* *vidhātā* > *vidhātāvā*
svasvā > *svasāvā* *duhitā* > *duhitāvā*

iv) The same behaviour is found in the case of words ending in *n*, whose nominative singular ends in *-ā*.

rājā > *rājāvā* *brahmā* > *brahmāvā*
śarmā > *śarmāvā* *śvā* > *śvāvā*
yuvā > *yuvāvā*

Though *mahārāja* is an *-a*-ending word in Sanskrit, it behaves like *rajā* in Malayalam.

mahārājaḥ > *mahārājāvā*

v) Words ending in *-ī*, get short *i*

kārī > *kari* *guṇī* > *guṇi*

vi) In the case of consonant-ending nouns, the nominative singular form determines the Malayalam form. Doubling of the final consonant,

de-voicing in the case of voiced sound, and the addition of -ə are the normal procedure.

<i>vāk</i>	>	<i>vākkə</i> ;	<i>jalāmuk</i>	>	<i>jalāmukkə</i>
<i>dik</i>	>	<i>dikkə</i> ;	<i>kakup</i>	>	<i>kakuppə</i>
<i>srak</i>	>	<i>srakke</i> ;	<i>marut</i>	>	<i>maruttə</i>
<i>samrāt</i>	>	<i>samrāṭṭə</i> ;	<i>suhṛd</i>	>	<i>suhṛttə</i>
			<i>ap</i>	>	<i>appə</i> 'water'

- vii) In the case of s-ending stems, the Malayalam form will be ending in -ssə

<i>manah</i>	>	<i>manassə</i>	<i>vedhāḥ</i>	>	<i>vedhassə</i>
<i>uccaiḥśravāḥ</i>	>	<i>uccaiḥśravassə</i>	<i>sumedhāḥ</i>	>	<i>sumedhassə</i>

- viii) In the case of -t-ending masculine stems whose nominative singular ends in -ān, that form is retained in Malayalam.

mahān, dhīmān, matimān
guṇavān, āyusmān, bhagavān

Phonological changes in Tadbhava loans:

S

- a) s is dropped in words in the beginning and middle, and in the beginning of conjunct consonants.

<i>sthūna</i>	>	<i>tūnə</i>	<i>snāna</i>	>	<i>nana(yuka)</i>
<i>sphaṭika</i>	>	<i>paḷunkə</i>	<i>śīsa</i>	>	<i>īyam</i>
<i>sahasra</i>	>	<i>ahayira āyiram</i>	<i>śīhaḷa</i>	>	<i>īḷam</i>
<i>sandhyā</i>	>	<i>anti</i>			

- b) s is changed to t

<i>sūci</i>	>	<i>tūṣi</i>	<i>satkāram</i>	>	<i>takkāram</i>
<i>sukham</i>	>	<i>tukam</i>	<i>sambandham</i>	>	<i>tammantam</i>
<i>surangam</i>	>	<i>turankam</i>	<i>śrī</i>	>	<i>siri</i> > <i>tiri/tiru/tr</i>

- c) s > c

<i>samit</i>	>	<i>camata</i> ;	<i>sanghātā</i>	>	<i>caṇṇātā</i>
<i>simha</i>	>	<i>ciṇṇam</i> ;	<i>svāti</i>	>	<i>cōti</i>

Ṣ

- a) dropping.

<i>śālā</i>	>	<i>āla</i>	<i>śmaśru</i>	>	<i>mayir</i>
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śravaṇa > *āvaṇa/oṇa* *śrenī* > *ēṇi*; *śraviṣṭha avitṭam*

b) *s'* > *c*

śarāvam > *carātā* *śrāddham* > *cāttam*
īśvara > *īccaran* *śyāma* > *cāma*
śuṇḍā > *cunḍā*

ṣ

a) *ṣ* > *t*

meṣa > *meṭam* *Vṛṣabha* > *iṭavam*

r and *l* do not occur initially in old Malayalam. In the case of Sanskrit *Tadbhava* loans the vowel *a*, *i* or *u* is added at the beginning.

rāma > *irāman* *rājā* > *aracan*
lanka > *ilanka* *nīpa* > *uruvam*
lākṣā > *arakkā* *lavanga* > *ilavangam*.

Borrowing of Suffixes:

-*kāran* from Sanskrit *-kāra* is a Taddhita suffix which when added to words gives the meaning 'maker' etc. *granthakāran*, *mālākāran*, *suvarṇakāran*, etc. In Mal. this suffix has a wider semantic field. *velakkāran* 'worker' *paṇakkāran*, 'possessing wealth', *ānakkāran*, 'mahaut' *veḷḷakkāran*, 'white man', *ālurvākkāran* 'one who belongs to Alwaye' etc.

-*ttam* -from Sanskrit *-tvam* added to adjectival nouns to make abstract nouns; this is added only to the Malayalam words and not to Sanskrit words. *vidḍhittam* 'foolishness', *bhoṣattam* 'silliness', *paṭhittam*. In the case of Sanskrit *-tvam* is to be used *paṭutvam*, *mānyatvam*.

-*ttanam*/ -*ttaram* is derived from the Prakrit form - *thaṇa* which itself is derived from Sanskrit *-tvam*. *vēṇṭāttanam*, with the variant *vēṇṭāsanam*.

-*taram* is also from Sanskrit *tvam*, through Prakrit. *maṇḍattaram*, *tāntonnit-taram* (also-*ttam*), *caṇṭittaram*.

The gender suffix *-tti*, with variants like *-cci*, *ṭṭi* through *sandhi* with the previous letter, is derived from Pali *-itthi*, which itself comes from Sanskrit *stri* 'woman'.

cetti > *cetti*cci *tampurān* > *tampurāṭṭi*
taṭṭān > *taṭṭātti*

From *orutti* 'one woman'; through metanalysis *u* is taken as the feminine suffix here and a back formation to the masculine *oruttan* is available in Malayalam.

Some confusion between *oruttan*, *oruddān* and *oru vidvān* is found in *Kuñcan Nambyar's* Tullal works. *matтору vidvān* etc. The use of *vidvān* in the sense of 'a man' by *Kuñcan Nambyār* might be due to semantic variation, or due to phonetic change *oruttan* *ōru vidvān*.

maddalam arayil uṛappiccīṭina
vidvānōṭuka pāram daṇḍam (Nampyār)

Compounds:

Sanskrit compounds are borrowed directly into Malayalam as in the case of *Candrakala*, or both members are borrowed separately and combined, in which case the Malayalam Sandhi will prevail as in *Candrakkala*.

Compounding of Sanskrit and Malayalam words are also quite common in Malayalam.

<i>maṇinādam</i>	'sound of bell'
<i>aṭisthānam</i>	'basis'
<i>buddhikāṛma</i>	'sharpness of mind', with the popular, but wrong, form <i>buddhikūmatā</i>
<i>sāmrājyaccemkolā</i>	
<i>talavedana</i>	

Some of the Sanskrit loan words in Malayalam have come through Prakrit. Dr. K. Godavarma has discussed them in detail in his book *Indo-Aryan Loan words in Malayalam*. A few examples are given below.

Sanskrit	Prakrit	Malayalam
Agni	Aggi	Akki (ttiri)
ārya	ajja/ayya	acchan/ayyan/accan
śreni	seni	eni
kṣemam	khemam	kemam
puṣkarinī	pokkharani	kokkarani
śṛṅkhala	saṅkala	caṇṇala
śreṣṭhi	setṭhi	cetti
siṃha	siṅha	cinṇam
sphaṭika	phaliha	paḷiṇṇa/paḷunka
vyākhyānam	vakkhāna	vakkānam
vṛttam	vaṭṭam	vaṭṭam

<i>dyūta</i>	<i>jūta</i>	<i>cūtā</i>
<i>darvi</i>	<i>davi</i>	<i>tavi</i>
<i>mrgas'iras</i>	<i>magasira</i>	<i>makayiram</i>
<i>śrī</i>	<i>siri</i>	<i>tiri/tiru/tr</i>
<i>ās'leṣa</i>	<i>āsilisa</i>	<i>āyilyam</i>
<i>uṣṭrakam</i>	<i>oṭṭhakam</i>	<i>oṭṭakam</i>

3. KERALA PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT

Sanskrit has been the language of Indian culture from hoary antiquity down the centuries, and enshrines the finest and most precious heritage of the land. The modern Indo-Aryan languages of North India are directly related to Sanskrit and even the Dravidian languages in the South have borrowed freely from that language. Sanskrit studies have always been quite popular throughout the country, the various parts of India vying with one another in cultivating and enriching it. It was natural that the popularity of Sanskrit studies in India resulted in certain peculiarities in the pronunciation of that language being developed in each part of the country. To a great extent these provincial mannerisms and peculiarities were due to the influence of the local dialects or languages, though it may not be possible to explain all of them in that way. It is of interest to note that, in spite of the precise rules of *Pāṇini* and the various *Prātisākhya-s*, such provincial variations still exist. Scholars in each part of India generally feel that their pronunciation is the correct one and that the rest of India people mispronounce the sounds; but the fact is that each locality has its own peculiar way of pronouncing the Sanskrit sounds. It is true that on the whole there is not a very great difference among these provincial traditions, except in the case of some sounds. However, detailed study of such variations in pronunciation among the people of the different parts of India is important and useful not only for the study of the Sanskrit language itself, but also for that of the history of the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian languages.¹ It is all the more important, since a standardizing movement is coming through the modern method of Sanskrit studies followed in the schools and colleges, and the traditional pronunciations with their local peculiarities are slowly disappearing. In the present chapter, I confine myself to the study of the special feature of the Kerala pronunciation of Sanskrit, about which a

1. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "The Pronunciation of Sanskrit", K.P. Pathak Commemoration Volume, 1934, pp. 333-49-

few suggestive papers have already appeared.²

/a/

From ancient phonetic descriptions it is clear that the relation of *a* to *ā* in Sanskrit is not the same as that of *i* to *ī* or *u* to *ū*; they differ not only in length, but also in quality. *Pāṇini* no doubt, treats them as members of a qualitative pair; but that was only for the convenience of phonological statement the last *sūtra* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 'a a', cancels this fiction and says that 'the short *a* which has for phonological purposes been treated as of identical quality with the long *ā* is phonetically closer'.³ This short *a* is more 'closed' than the long *a*, and in some of the modern Aryan languages 'the difference between the two is more qualitative than quantitative'.⁴ At the suggestion of J.R. Firth, Miss Lambert has even adopted the neutral vowels sign shwa *ə* for the Sanskrit short *a*, and *a* is used for the long *ā*.⁵ - Modern pronunciations of Sanskrit short *a* are conflicting. According to the *Mahārāṣṭra* style which claims to be one of the most correct, Sanskrit *a* becomes an unrounded *o*, ie., an *o* sound produced with the lips spread out instead of being rounded as normally. This was certainly not its value in ancient times.⁶ The Bengali- Oriya pronunciation is further away from the ancient 'closed' *a*. The typical North Indian evaluation of the sound, *a*, as a low back vowel is also not quite satisfactory.

The Kerala pronunciation of Sanskrit *a* varies with the position it occupies in the word. The short *a* at the end of a word is pronounced as an open sound having the same quality as that of the long *ā*:

na, ca, eva, [bata], paśya

When preceded by an unaspirated voiced stop or a semi-vowel except *v*, the short *a* is pronounced almost like the short *e* which exists as a separate phoneme in Malayalam and other Dravidian languages, though not in Sanskrit.⁷

2. C. Kunhan Raja, 'Some Malabar Mannerisms in Sanskrit', *Siddhabhāratī*, Part I, pp.14-17; 'Notes on Sanskrit Malayalam Phonetics', *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras University, Vol.I. Parts 1 and 2; L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer, 'A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics', *Journal of the Dept of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol.14(1927); 'A South Indian Evaluation of Sanskrit t(d) and ṭ (ḍ)', *IHQ*, 1937, pp. 297ff; 'Two Malayalam Phonemes', *IIA*, Vol.1, pp. 216ff; Anavāratavinayakam Pillai, *Dravidic Studies*, Madras, 1923; K. Godavarma, *BSOS*, 8, 599ff.

3. W.S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, Oxford University Press, 1953, p.58

4. *Ibid.* See also J.R. Firth, *Proc. 2nd Int. Cong. Phon. Sc.* p.179.

5 H.M. Lambert, *Introduction to the Devanagari Script*, Oxford University Press, 1953.

6 Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *loc. cit.*, p.338.

7 This value of 'a' is given in many of the old manuscripts written in Malayalam script. This peculiarity was pointed out by Gundert in his *Malayalam Grammar*. Indo-Aryan Loan Words in Malayalam; A.R. Rajaraja. See also Dr. Godavarma, *Keralapiniṇiyam*; and Anavāratavinayakam Pillai, *loc. cit.*

<i>gajah</i>	(<i>gejah</i>)	<i>yaśaḥ</i>	(<i>yeśaḥ</i>)
<i>jayah</i>	(<i>jeyah</i>)	<i>raviḥ</i>	(<i>reviḥ</i>)
<i>dayate</i>	(<i>deyate</i>)	<i>lajjā</i>	(<i>lejjā</i>)
<i>dayā</i>	(<i>deyā</i>)	<i>ālayam</i>	(<i>āleyam</i>)
<i>balam</i>	(<i>belam</i>)		

The same value is realized even when such words come as the second member of a compound word. The *e* sound is clear in the initial syllable; in the medial syllables the *e* sound is not so clear, and is almost a palatalized neutral vowel. In those cases where *l* is pronounced as a retroflex *ḷ*, the change of *a* > *e* does not take place.

<i>layaḥ</i>	(<i>leyaḥ</i>)
<i>pralayaḥ</i>	(<i>praḷayaḥ</i>)

Initially, and when preceded by other letters, it becomes a short open [a].

3

r, ḷ

The pronunciation of the vocalic *r* and *ḷ* are fairly mixed everywhere. The *Sarvasammataśikṣā* says that the vocalic *r* is 'compounded of four segments; of these the first and the last are vocalic, whilst the central pair are consonantal namely particles of *r*'.⁸ In the modern tradition it becomes *ṛi* in many parts of North India, and *ru* in Andhra and *Mahārāṣṭra*. In actual pronunciation as found in Kerala, there are two different variations: (a) the first vowel segment is omitted and the last vowel segment becomes a neutral vowel *ə* tending towards *i*; e.g.

<i>kṛmi</i>	(<i>kṛimi</i>),	(<i>kṛami</i>)
<i>ṛṣi</i>	(<i>ṛiṣi</i>),	(<i>rṛṣi</i>)

(b) The last vowel segment is omitted, and the first vowel segment becomes the neutral vowel (*ə*);

e.g.

<i>kṛṣṇa</i>	(<i>kəṛṣṇa</i>)
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The same applies to the vocalic *ḷ* also.

<i>klptam</i>	(<i>klīptam</i>)	(<i>kləptam</i>)	(<i>kəḷptam</i>)
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It may be noted that the *r* element in the vocalic *r* and the *ḷ* element in

the vocalic *l* are cerebral, not dental or alveolar.

4

'ai'

The diphthongal vowel *ai* is in most cases pronounced in Kerala as (ei);

e.g.

(tatheiva), (sarvih), (aṅgeir anaṅgatapteih),
(prajāyei), (kareih), (deivam).

It may be noted that this tendency is found even in some of the English loan-words in Malayalam as in (*deiman*) for 'diamond'. The correct pronunciation of *ai* may however be found in the initial syllables beginning with *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *v*, *ś*, *s* and *h*, as in:

(kaivalyam), (taittirīya), (paitrākam), (caitanya),
(vaidhaḥ), (śaityam), (saikatam), (haindavam).

5

Stops

The voiceless unaspirated stops retain their full value only at the initial position or when doubled; medially they tend to become softer though they are not voiced. This is a Dravidian feature; but in Malayalam this tendency is not as strong as in Tamil. In the final position *t* and *d* are pronounced as (*l*), *t* and *d* become *l* and to the other stops a segment of the neutral vowel (*ə*) is added. Even in medial position the distinction between the voiceless and the voiced stops is maintained though in the case of the aspirated stops there is some confusion.

6

Nasalization

The tendency to nasalization is a characteristic feature of Malayalam⁹ Voiced unaspirated plosives (*g j ḍ d b*) when preceded by nasal consonants become assimilated to the nasal of the same class in pronunciation. This tendency is found in the early stage in the evolution of Malayalam.¹⁰ In the pronunciation of Sanskrit words the same tendency is found. When the voiced homorganic clusters of Sanskrit *ṅg*, *ṅj*, *ṅd*, *ṅḍ*, and *mb* are pronounced as geminated nasals *ṅṅ*, *ṅṅ*, *nn*, *ṇṇ* and *mm* respectively, the vowel following

⁹ Hence the jocular statement about Malayalam being Tamil uttered through the nose.

¹⁰ Referred to as *anunāsikādhīprasara* by A.R. Rajarajavarma loc. cit.

the nasal is pronounced with a slight nasality which can be detected by a sharp listener.

<i>gaṅgā</i>	(<i>gaṅṅā</i>)	<i>maṇḍitam</i>	(<i>maṇṇitam</i>)
<i>bhaṅgī</i>	(<i>bhaṅṅī</i>)	<i>mandam</i>	(<i>mannam</i>)
<i>añjanam</i>	(<i>añṇanam</i>)	<i>sambandham</i>	(<i>sammandham</i>)

When the nasal consonant is followed by the voiceless unaspirated plosives the latter tend to become softer and slightly voiced; e.g.

<i>śaṅkā</i>	(<i>śaṅgā</i>)
<i>vañcanam</i>	(<i>vañjanam</i>)
<i>kaṇṭaka</i>	(<i>kaṇḍaka</i>)
<i>cintā</i>	(<i>cinda</i>)
<i>sampādyam</i>	(<i>sambādyam</i>)

This tendency is not quite well recognized and Kerala scholars may refuse to admit it. Even in other cases there is a tendency to soften the plosive following a nasal. Thus *saṅkhyā* becomes *saṅghyā*, *vāṅchā* becomes (*vañjhā*), *śuṅṭhū* becomes *suṇḍhū* and *pāṇtha* becomes *pāṇḍhaḥ*. Of course the distinction between the voiced and voiceless aspirates following a nasal is retained in writing and in careful pronunciation; but there is a tendency to confuse the two.

7

n

In Sanskrit the nasal consonant *n* is unequivocally described as a dental produced at the teeth or at the rim of the teeth;¹¹ but in Kerala its pronunciation is not uniform. In the Malayalam language there are two distinct phonemes, the dental *n* and the blade-alveolar *n*,¹² though there is only one symbol in the orthography to represent the two. The existence of two *n* sounds in Malayalam has influenced the Kerala pronunciation of the Sanskrit dental *n*. The value Sanskrit 'n' gets in Kerala pronunciation depends on the position it occupies in a word.¹³ The initial *n* of Sanskrit is always pronounced as a dental except when followed by *y* as in *ñyāyam*. In medial and final positions and along with certain consonants the Sanskrit *n* gets the alveolar pronunciation. The dental value is realized in the clusters *nt*, *nd*, *naḥ*, *nth*, *gn*, *ghn*, *tn*, *pn*, *mn* and *sn*. The conjunct consonant *nd* of Sanskrit which is nasalized into *nn* in Kerala

11. Siddhāntakaumudī: Itulasānām dantah

12 See p.186, Rājasudhā. See also L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer, 'Two Malayalam Phonemes', NIA, vol.1, pp.216 ff

13 For more details see 'Allophones of the dental nasal in Sanskrit' Rājasudhā

pronunciation, is however pronounced as a pure dental; the vowel following it is also nasalized. In the case of compound words also the initial *n* of the second member is a dental as if it were a different word.

(<i>nadī</i>)	(<i>ānanam</i>)
(<i>mahānadī</i>)	(<i>svinnam</i>)
(<i>mannāḥ</i>)	(<i>sannidhiḥ</i>)

In some cases however where the different members are not felt as separate parts of the word, the blade-alveolar itself appears, as in [*anīti*]. The conjunct consonants *nt*, *nth*, *ndh*, *gn* and *tn* have the *n* element as dental itself. [In *ratnam* the *t* is not released].

It may be noted that the letter *jñ* is pronounced as [*t n y*] where both *t* and *n* are alveolar; the tongue is first placed in the position to utter the alveolar *t*; then the alveolar *n* followed by *y* is uttered.¹⁴

8

r

In Sanskrit the semi-vowel *r* functions phonologically as a member of the retroflex series; but there is considerable difference of opinion about the exact phonetic value of this letter.¹⁵ The *Prātiśākhya-s* give as the place of its articulation the teeth or the roots of the teeth or the toothridge, i.e., it is described as dental or alveolar. Professor W.S. Allen says that the alveolar articulation 'agrees with the present pronunciation of Sanskrit and the general practice of the of the modern Indo- Aryan languages'.¹⁶ *Uvaṭa* has stated that some schools pronounce *r* as cerebral, and some others as alveolar.¹⁷ - The term *vartsya* (gingival) has also been given by some authorities to this *r* sound.¹⁸ In Malayalam there are two *r* sounds, the alveolar and the cerebral, or the soft and the hard; the former is a flapped sound, while the latter is slightly trilled.¹⁹ In the Malayalam pronunciation of Sanskrit words also both these sounds can be detected distinctly. The position of the letter determines whether it is to be articulated as lax or tense. It is alveolar initially, when followed by a vowel,

14 North Indian tradition makes *jñ* [gy] or [gñ]. Perhaps the only people who pronounce it correctly as a combination of *j* and *ñ* are some of the western Indologists!

15 Siddheshwar Varma, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, 1929, pp. 6 ff.

16 op.cit., p.52.

17 Comm. on *Rkprātīśākhya*, I.I: *kasyām śākhāyām rephomūrdhanyaḥ kasyam dantamūlīya* iti (quoted by W.S. Allen, op. cit. p.55)

18 'repham vartsyam eke' (*Rkprātīśākhya*, I.46). See also W.S. Allen, op. cit., p.54.-

19 L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer, 'Malayalam Phonetics' (p.16)

and medially between vowels, e.g. *rājā*, *riktaḥ*, *rephaḥ*, *rauti*, *murāriḥ*, *karāravindam*. In the case of conjunct consonants it is alveolar only in the following cases: (a) *r* followed by *y*, *ś*, and preceded by a vowel, e.g. [*āryaḥ*], [*arśaḥ*]; (b) when preceded by the unaspirated voiced consonants, *g*, *d*, *b*, e.g. [*agram*], [*draupadi*], [*brūte*], [*Indraḥ*], [*Brahmā*]. In other cases it is articulated as cerebral, e.g. [*takram*], [*vyāghraḥ*].²⁰ [*ucchrāyaḥ*], [*medhraḥ*], [*netram*], [*priyaḥ*], [*bhramah*], [*mradimā*], [*vraṇaḥ*], [*śn̄pati*], [*sraṣṭā*], [*hradaḥ*]. In the case of *rṣ* and *rñ* the cerebral articulation is also sometimes heard. Perhaps the anaptyxis (*svarabhakti*) i.e. the vowel fragment after the *r*, in such cases is responsible for making the sound an alveolar; the cerebral articulation is observed when the vowel fragment is not pronounced.

9

I

In Sanskrit there is only one *l* sound and that is described as a dental. In Vedic Sanskrit there is also the retroflex lateral consonant *ḷ*, which is the value given to *ḍ*, as in *agnim īḷe purohitam*. The *Rkprātiśākhya* gives an articulation of *l* with 'both ends of the tongue' as a fault; this criticism seems to be against the secondary back-raising which would produce velar resonance or dark *l*.²¹ The retroflex *ḷ* sound is quite common in South India. In Malayalam there are two *l*-phonemes, the alveolar and the retroflex. And the Sanskrit *l* is also pronounced in two ways, sometimes as an alveolar and sometimes as a retroflex. It is difficult to give precise rules about the distribution of these two allophones. The retroflex *ḷ* cannot come at the beginning of a word. When there is a Malayalam word similar to the Sanskrit, but different in meaning, a different allophone is usually taken in order that there may be no confusion.

kulam (Sanskrit)

kuḷam (Malayalam)

These two allophones of '*l*' occur in the Tamil pronunciation of Sanskrit *l* also; but there is no uniformity between the Tamil evaluation and the Kerala evaluation. Thus the *Nānārthamañjarī*²² takes *valī* and *mauli* as words ending in retroflex *ḷ*; but in Kerala these words have only the alveolar pronunciation. A few words where '*l*' gets a retroflex *ḷ* sound in Kerala are (*kālī*), (*kaḷakaḷaḥ*), (*maṇḡaḷam*), (*praḷayaḥ*), (*ālī*), (*kēḷī*), (*naḷinī*) (*mukulaḷam*), (*daḷam*), (*śyāmaḷā*), (*kōmaḷa*), etc.

20 *ghr* is pronounced with a cerebral *r* and not with the alveolar one as given by L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer, loc.cit.

21 W.S. Allen, op.cit, pp.56 f. See also H. Luders, *Philologia Indica*, pp.546 ff.

22 published by the Deccan College, Poona.

Sanskrit 'ḍ' is sometimes pronounced as (*l*), but not initially.

<i>guda</i>	(<i>guḷa</i>)
<i>guḍikā</i>	(<i>guḷikā</i>)
<i>samrāt</i>	(<i>samrāl</i>)
<i>jada</i>	(<i>jala</i>)

nahi guḍagudikāyāḥ kvāpi mādihuryabhedaḥ is read as *nahi guḷagūḷikāyāḥ kvāpi mādihuryabhedaḥ*

10

lm (*nm*).

The Sanskrit conjunct consonant lm is pronounced in Kerala as (*nm*), e.g. (*Vānmūki*), (*kanmaṣa*), (*jāṇmalī*), (*Vanmūka*)²³ This change is perhaps due to the influence of similar changes in Malayalam, as in *nel + maṇi*, *nenmaṇi*; *nal + ma*, *manma*.

11

t, d - (1); *t*, *ḍ* - (*l*)

One of the most striking peculiarities of Kerala pronunciation of Sanskrit is the evaluation of the Sanskrit dental plosives *t* and *ḍ* and the cerebral plosives *ṭ* and *ḍ* in certain positions as *l* and *ḷ* respectively²⁴ This evaluation is not found even in Tamil or other Dravidian linguistic areas, and is peculiar to Kerala.

<i>utkarṣa</i>	(<i>ulkarṣa</i>)	<i>adbhuta</i>	(<i>albhuta</i>)
<i>sadguṇa</i>	(<i>salguṇa</i>)	<i>vātsalya</i>	(<i>vālsalya</i>)
<i>udghoṣa</i>	(<i>ulghoṣa</i>)	<i>sākṣāt</i>	(<i>sākṣāl</i>)
<i>tātparya</i>	(<i>tālparya</i>)	<i>vanāt</i>	(<i>vanāl</i>)
<i>utphulla</i>	(<i>ulphulla</i>)		
<i>budbuda</i>	(<i>bulbuda</i>)		
<i>khaḍga</i>	(<i>khalga</i>)	<i>samrāt</i>	(<i>samrāl</i>)
<i>ṣaḍja</i>	(<i>ṣaḷja</i>)	<i>vaṣaṭkārah</i>	(<i>vaṣṣḷkārah</i>)

In the case of *tm* and *dm*, as in *ātmā* and *Padmanābha*, the articulation is (*lpm*) where the *p* is not actually uttered, e.g. [*pal* (*p*)*manābha*], [*āl* (*p*)*mā*].

23 Kerala MSS. usually give nm in such cases. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary also gives the words in that way.

24 cf. L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer, IHQ, vol.13, pp. 279 ff.

L.V. Ramaswami Aiyer suggests that this Malayali evaluation must be due to a false restoration based on a proces of back analogy as in early Malayalam *kaṭ'kulam* (kalkulam).²⁵ Inscriptions dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries contain usages like *candrādityaval*, showing that this peculiarity is not a late development.²⁶ In the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* belonging to the tenth century²⁷ it is found t (*ḍ*) had a l pronunciation; in canto 5, verse 44, we find

navaghanavad gurur odhas
sthagayann iṣuvarṣaṇena valgu rurodha

The Yamaka rhyme requires that *vad* should be pronounced as *val*.²⁸ It is of interest to note that Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (1748-1806) who studied Sanskrit in Kerala and who wrote a grammar of that language called the *Sidhanubam* gave *āl* as the ablative suffix.²⁹ In the *Prakriyāsarvasva*, *Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* refers to the mispronunciation of the word *padma*, and says that the word is derived from *pad*, and that it should not be treated as a *t* sound³⁰.

12

hn, hn, hm

In the combinations of glottal fricative *h* followed by a nasal, the naslization affects the whole conjunct sound, and both breath and nasality overlap. The articulator is placed in position for the utterance of the nasal, then the nasalization starts followed by the simultaneous utterance of the glottal fricative and the nasal, e.g. *Brāhmaṇa-Brāmhaṇa*, *vahniḥ-vanhiḥ gṛhṇāti-gṛhṇāti*. It is more an overlapping than a metathesis; such changes are found in

25 Ibid

26 Ibid. See also A.C. Sekhar, *Evoluton of Malayalam*, Poona, p.25; K. Godavarma, *op.cit.* pp.112, 136.

27 K. Kunjunni Raja, *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, Madras University, 1958, p.15.

28 K. Kunjunni Raja, 'Bālavutpattikārinī of Cokkanātha', ALB, 1946, p.122.

29 A. Burnell, *Vams'abrāhmaṇa*, Preface, p.xxix: 'With all the labours of the grammarians the pronunciation of Sanskrit differs in many parts of India. In Malabar, for example, *tasmāt* and *tatsama* are written *tasmāl*, *talsama* and pronounced accordingly; and so also wherever *t* or *l* comes before another consonant - Bartholomaeus a Sancto Paulino wrote this in his 'Vyākaranam' and was then most undeservedly attacked by the Calcutta students of Sanskrit. He was wrong in many matters, but right in this!'

30. Unādi section, I.30:

padmam hi padyater uktam na pater mādhavādibhiḥ
sphuto dakarās' codicām takaroktir ato bhramah.

From the usual Malayalam pronunciation it is not easy to decide whether it is *padma* or *patma*; hence the need for clarification.

Prakrits also, and might have come to Kerala, through such source.³¹

13

kṣ

The Kerala pronunciation of *kṣ* is not as a conjunct consonant made up of *k* and *ṣ*, but rather as a combination of *ṭ* and *ṣ*; tongue is placed in position to utter the cerebral *ṭ*, then *ṣ* is uttered. Sometimes instead of the cerebral it receives the alveolar value.

Of late there is a tendency among scholars to avoid such provincialisms and to maintain the correct pronunciation. In this tendency towards purism even the correct pronunciation may give way to the wrong one prevailing in the neighbouring parts, as in the case of the pulmonic, voiceless fricative, *visarga*, being pronounced like the voiced fricative *ḥ*.

4. SEMANTIC VARIATIONS OF SANSKRIT LOAN-WORDS IN MALAYALAM

atiśayam "excel" in S.; Mal. meaning, "wonder". "surprise". (*akilacanaṅgalum atiśayamānār* - Ramacaritam). This sense is found also in Tamil. Mal. uses it as synonymous to *adbhuta*. *atiśayikkuka*, *atiśayappetuka* are also available. In *Nambūtiri* dialect it is pronounced as *atiśam* (*atiśāyi* "it is excellent", "very good").

atyāgraham Mal. "overgreediness", cf. *āgraham*.

adhikarikkuka "to refer" in S. *oru viṣayatte adhikariccu* "about a topic"; Mal. usages in the sense "to increase" (*adhikam āyi*) are common, though not accepted as correct. *dīnam adhikariccu* "illness became severe". This meaning is found in Tamil also.

adhyakṣam in Mal. used in the sense of "overlordship" or "presidentship". (Even in *Bhāṣākaṭāliya*). In S. it means "the president".

adhvānam Accusative of *adhvan* "way" in S. In Mal. "great exertion", "work"; verbal form *adhvānikkuka* "to work hard", "exert oneself". The connection between the two meanings is not clear. The derivation from *a-dhvānam* "silently" is also unsuitable to explain the Mal. sense. *adhvānikkunna vargam* "the working class", *atyadhvānam* "severe exertion" etc. are common. Perhaps denominative verb from *adhvan*, *adhvānikkuka* "to walk along the road", may be the origin.

31 It is mentioned in some Prātiśākhya-s and criticized in some Śikṣā-s. Cf. S. Varma, op.cit. p.80; W.S. Allen, op.cit. p.77.

anubhavam "experience", "enjoyment" in S. In Mal. it also means "produce of a tree etc."

anuvādam "explanatory repetition", "repetition with corroboration" in S; "permission", "consent", den. verb *anuvadikkuka* "to permit", "allow" etc. common. *anuvādam kūṭāte akattu kaṭakkarutā* "no entry without permission". In mod. Mal. *anuvādam* is used in the sense of "translation", on the basis of Hindi usage derived from the S. sense *āśayānuvādam* "translation of the idea".

antarikkuka from *antar* "inside", + *i*, "to disappear", "go inside", "hide" Mal. "to die". Perhaps the change in meaning is due to euphemistic usage.

antarjanam literally means "a person inside" in S. In Mal. it is used for the female of the *Nambūtiri Brahmin*.

anyam "another" in S. In Mal. it is used in the sense of "descent" in phrases like *anyam ninnu povuka*, *anyam muṭiyuka* "family to be extinct".

anyāyam "injustice" in S; in Mal. it means "cause for complaint", "complaint"; *anyāyakkāran* "plaintiff" (mod.) opposit of *prati* "a defendant" (= *prativādi*). *anyāyabhāgam*, *anyāyasākṣi*.

anyonyam "mutually", "one another". Gundert gives Mal. meaning "friendship". It is also used in the sense of "competition", "rivalry" *Kaṭavallūr anyonyam* (competition of Vedic recitation at *Kaṭavallūr*).

apakaṭam means "danger" in Mal., prob. from S. *avakaṭam*.

apavāda "calumny" in Mal., the normal sense in S. is "exception".

alparasam literally "little interest" in S., is used in Mal. in the sense of "high sensitivity". *alparasakkāran* "a man of high sensitivity".

avakāśa "place", "space", "occasion", "opportunity", in S.; in Mal. it is used in the sense of "right" (Sanskrit sense of *adhikāra*) *avakāśavādam* "claim about the right"; *janmāvakāśam* "birth right".

avadhi "limit"; Mal. "holiday". *avadhikkālam* "holiday period". An extension of this meaning is found in Mal. as "leave of absence". *innennik avadhi yāṇa* "today I am on leave" *avadhi eṭukkuka* "to take leave (of absence)".

avarōdham "blocking up", "heaven" in S. In Mal. the special significance of "installation", "coronation" is given to the word; the verbal form is *avarōdhikkuka*, one who is thus installed in an office was confined to his place and his freedom was restricted; hence the use of the term. There is also the possibility of its being derived from *avirōdha*

"without any objection", "unanimously"; some inscriptions use the term *avirōdhamāyi* in this sense. In Tamil it has the sense of "misery".

avarṇa "colourless", "blame". In Mal. it is used now in the sense of "the low caste" people as opposed to *savarṇa* "high caste people" (same as *traivarnika*).

avastha "condition", "state", "circumstance" in S. In Mal. the added meaning of "pomp and show", "pretension of high position" is available. *avasthakkāran* "a man of arrogance of high position". *avastha naṭik-kuka* "to show arrogance of high position".

ākṣepa "censure", "objection" in Mal. S. meaning is "censure" and "implication".

āgraham is "holding firmly" in S.; in Mal. the normal meaning is "desire". *Atyāgraham* great desire. Gandhiji's *Satyāgraha* meant "holding firmly to truth", while in Mal. it is often understood as "desire for truth". Gundert quotes *Bhāratam aṛikayil āgraham untupāram*.

āghōṣa "invocation", "boastful statement", "proclamation" from *ā + ghuṣ*. In Mal. it means celebration of a festival with pomp and show. *Ōṇam aghoṣiccu* "celebrated the *ōṇam* festival". *ghōṣa* in Sanskrit means "noise" (sound of drums etc.); from this the Mal. sense for *āghōṣa* might have come. *ghōṣā* in the sense "*purdah*" does not seem to be of Sanskrit origin.

ājānubāhu "with arms reaching the knee" (the sign of a great man). In Mal. it is now used in the sense of "a tall and stout" man of imposing figure.

ādhyān "rich", "opulent" in S. In Mal. it also refers to the aristocratic *Nambūtiri Brahmins*. In the game of cards the term *ādhyān* is used as the Sanskritized form of "heart".

ādihāram "support", "base" in S. In Mal. it also means "a deed", "a document", *kīlādhāram*, *ādihāram eluttā*. Prob. from *adhārapatram*.

ābhāsam "deceptive appearance" from *ā + bhās*. In Mal. it means "low", "vulgar", "corruption", "uncultured". In *rasābhāsa*, *virodhābhāsa*, etc. the Sanskrit sense is retained.

ārti "affliction", "suffering" in S.; Mal. meaning is "greediness for food and drink". G. gives the sense as "pant after water etc.", but the term applies to the panting after food and drink. *atyārti*, "excessive greediness".

ārbhāṭa is not a Sanskrit word, though it appears like one. It means "pomp and show". The derivation may be from *ārabhāṭa* (the forceful style of representation on the stage, as opposed to the graceful *Kaiśikī*); or it may be from Mal. *ārppu viḷi* "to vociferate", "to shout".

ālasyam "idleness", "lack of energy". In Mal. it is also used in the sense of "fatigue". *ālasyam āṇṭa mukham oṭṭu kuniccu* (Vallathol). *ālasya* is one of the *Vyabhicāribhāvas* (fleeting moods) and indicates fatigue.

āsyam In Mal. the term refers to a class of Nambutiri Brahmins. In S. *āsyam* means "face".

uttaram "answer" in S., also means "a beam" in Mal. *uttaravā* means "command" in Mal. The sense of "north" is also available. *uttaradikkilu yāgam unṭa*.

uddēśa "mentioning a thing", "pointing out". In Mal. it means "approximately" (= *ekadēśam* = *sumār*), and "aim", "idea" (*eṇṭe uddēśam* "my aim"). Verbal form *uddēśikkuka* "intend" is also used.

uddyōgam "industry", "exertion" (= *utsāham*); in Mal. it means "employment", "job". The old proverb *udyōgam unṭāyāl attālam unṇām* (one can have dinner, if one has *udyoga*) (quoted by Gundert) has now a different sense. In modern Mal. many words like *udyōgasthan* "officer", *udyōgarahitan* "unemployed", *udyōgasthalam* "the place of employment" etc. are commonly used.

udvēgam "excitement" in Mal., but "repulsion" in S.

ūrdhvam "high" in S., but in Mal. it also means "in vain", "beyond reach". *ūrdhvam valikkuka* means "to die".

ēkadēśam "one place", "a portion" (of the whole). In Mal. it also means "about", "approximately" (= *uddēśam*, *sumār*).

ēkōpiccu "having brought together", "unified", in Mal. has no equivalent form in S. except the first stem *ēka* "one".

ēsaṇi "backbiting", "talebearing" and *eṣaṇikkāran* "tale bearer", "calumniator" do not seem to be from Sanskrit; its similarity with *eṣaṇā* is only in form.

ōcchānam (*ōcchānikkuka*) "to stand in reverence before superiors" is not a S. word; Gundert gives it as *ōccānam*. Dr. Godavarma derives it from S. *avacchādana*, indicating the covering of the mouth with the hand while standing in reverence before elders. (*Prabandhasamāhāra*, p.71).

Kamala "Goddess of prosperity", "lotus". The Mal. use in the sense of "confusion" is for a homophonous word with the variant form *kavala*; it also means "jaundice".

kanyāstrī "a virgin"; now in Mal. it means a nun. *Kanyāstrīmaṭham* = "a convent".

kabala "a morsel"; in Mal. *kabalikkuka* means "to deceive", "to cheat". *kabaḷam arut* "don't deceive". *Kavalikkuka* is used in the sense of "being absent", "not doing" or "avoiding consciously".

kalpana "idea", "hypothesis", "plan". In Mal. it means "command", "order". *kalpikkuka* "to order". Another sense in Mal. for the word is "permission", "leave" (= *avadhi*). "*Kalpicceṇkil eṇnennallātip-pariṣakkonnuriyāṭāmō*" *Nambyār*.

kalyāṇam "happiness", "auspiciousness". Mal. sense "marriage", "wedding ceremony"; *kalyaṇappenṇa* "bride"; *kalyāṇaccekkān* "bridegroom". This sense is found in Tamil also.

kaṣaṇam "rubbing", "scratching". In Mal. it means "a bit", "a piece". *kaṣaṇikkuka* "to cut to pieces"; another sense is "to suffer" *innere-kkaṣaṇiccivaṇṇam ulavākkittentu kāryam sakhe* (about a poem, *Veṇmaṇi*). Also *kaṣaṇippikkum kaṇakkenniye* (*veṇmaṇi*).

kaṣṭam "alas", "hardship", "strain". In Mal. *kaṣṭam vekkuka* means "to lay the forefinger upon the nose in expression of surprise or sorrow". *kaṣṭiccā* means "with difficulty"; also "almost", "about".

kaṣṭiṣṭi "scantly", "with great difficulty". This is used in Kerala Sanskrit. cf. *Udaṇḍa Sāstri's* verse *ekadvyaṣarakaṣṭiṣṭiḡhatanā* "arrangement of one or two letters with great difficulty" (spoken about a poetaster).

kāmukī in S. means a woman with sexual passion; the feminine form for *kāmuka* "lover" is *kāminī*. In Mal. *kāmuki* is used for "lover"; and *kāmukīkamukanmār* is used for *kāminīkāmukanmār*.

kāryasthan used in Mal. in the sense of "an officer", "manager".

kāryakkār "an officer" (associated with the temple)

kāṣṭham in S. means "a log of wood"; in Mal. it also means "foecus" (= *malam*); may be a back formation of *kāṭṭam*. cf. *cevikkāṭṭham* "ear dropping". The verbal form *kāṣṭṭhikkuka* (also *kāṭṭhikkuka*) is also known.

kṛtyam "duty" "what is to be done". In Mal. it is also used in the sense of "correct", "exact". *kṛtyam pattu maṇikkā*, "exactly at ten O'clock".

kēram shortened form of *nālikēra* "coconut tree". *nārikēla* is the popular S. form in the north. In Mal. the term *nālikēra* refers to coconut fruit and not the tree. Kerala S. work *Śukasandeśa* uses the term *kēra* for the tree "*kērakramukanikarān kēralān*". The term *Kerala* is sometimes derived from *kēra*; though the other derivation as cognate of Tamil *cēra* is also known.

kēlī "game", "play" in S., *kēlī* in the sense of "fame" is a different Mal. word derived from *kēlī* "to hear". (In Tamil *kēlī* means "to ask").

kēvalam "absolute", "entirely isolated". In Mal. *kēvalan* is used in the sense of "an insignificant person".

kōṇam "corner" in S., the Mal. sense "loin-cloth" is for the homophonous term derived from S. *Kaupīnam*. (through *Kovaṇam*)

kōlāhala "indistinct loud sound" in S. (= *kalakala*), also means "confused sound" "uproar" etc. In Mal. the special sense is "pomp" and show. *kōlāhalam nṛtham āṭum dalaiṇaḷum* (*Kuñcan Nambyār*); *kōlāhala-toṭu pōyitu bāṇavum* (*Eḷuttacchan*).

kṣaṇan "moment", "opportunity" in S., "in a moment", "quickly" is also the sense derived from this. In Mal. it is commonly used in the sense of "invitation"; sometimes the form *kṣaṇanam* is also used. Also the verbal form *kṣaṇikkuka*. This sense is also found in Sanskrit ritualistic literature.

kṣētram "field", "ground". In Mal. it means "a temple" (being a sacred place). *bhagavatī kṣētram, viṣṇukṣētram*. In the Sanskrit poem *Sukasandēśa* of Kerala the use in the Mal. sense is found. (*tacca kṣētram*).

gambhīra "deep" in S.; but in Mal. it is used also in the wider sense of "excellent", "great" *gambhīramāya sadya* "great feast".

guṇadoṣa "advice". *guṇadoṣikkuka* "to advise". *guṇadoṣakkāran* "husband". (Gundert)

gōpi is used in Mal. for a mark on the forehead with sandal paste (*gōpīcandana*); it also means "a cipher". *gōpitotṭu, iratṭa gōpi, ākāryam gōpi*. The *gōpi* is in an upward mark, and the term means same as *urdhvam*, indicating negation.

gōṣṭhi "assembly" (= *sabhā* in S.; in Mal. it means "pranks" "grimaces", "ridiculous gestures". The Mal. usage may be from the Sanskritized form of *kōṭṭi*.

ghōṣā in the sense of "purdah" is not a S. word. For the other sense see under *āghōṣa*.

janmam In S. *janma* means "birth", and *janmi* is one who is born in this world. The Mal. usage in the sense of "fieldhold property" and "landlord" respectively is from the Hindi *zamin* "ground".

calam S. "moving", "fickle". Mal. uses this profusely as in *calaccitram* "cinema". The Mal. word *calam* meaning "pus" is a Dravidianized form of S. *jalam*.

cōḍyam is used in Mal. in the sense of "question" (*praśna*); the verbal form *cōḍikkunnu* "ask" is also common. The Sanskrit meaning of the root *cud* is "to prompt". For that sense Mal. uses *Pracōdanam nalkuka*. *Duścōḍyam* in Mal. meaning a "crooked question".

chāyā in S. means "shade" and "splendour"; in Mal. the additional senses are "photo" (*chāya eṭukkuka* "to take photo" and "resemblance" (*kuṭṭikkā achanṭe chāya yuntā*, "the child has resemblance to the father).

taṭastham from *taṭa* + *sthā* "standing on the shore"; a bystander, a neutral spectator. In Mal. *taṭastham* is used along with *taṭassam*, in the sense of hindrance. This is back formation from Mal. *Taṭattam* (*taṭayuka*, "to hinder").

tāmasam "pertaining to *tamoguṇa* "ignorant". Mal. usage in the sense of "delay", "procrastination" may be related to "indolence" or "sloth" associated with *tamoguṇa*. Den. verb *tāmasikkuka* "to be late"; a further change of meaning is "to stay". *eviṭe tāmāsam* "where do you live?" *tāmsam arute nullān* "don't delay to pluck".

tīrtham "a bathing place", "a holy place". In Mal. it is commonly used for "holy water". *tīrtham sēvikkuka* "to sip the holy water".

daṇḍam "a stick", "punishment" etc. in S., in Mal. it is used in the sense of "disease" "illness" *daṇḍam piṭikkuka* "to be ill". *Kaṇṇildaṇḍam* "eye disease". The form *daṇṇam* is also used. ("Kaṇṇu kāṇāyakkakonṭu manassinkal daṇḍam ētānum unṭo dhanañjaya" *Santānagōpālam*).

dharmam "virtue", "duty" in S., but in Mal. it is used for "alms"; *dharmakkāran* is "a beggar".

dhārāḷam "*dhārā*" is "a continuous shower" or "stream" and *dhārāḷam* in S. means "incessantly flowing". In Mal. it means "in profusion (without any reference to liquid). *dhārāḷam samsārikkuka* "talk incessantly". *dhārāḷi* means "a spendthrift". *dhārāḷatoye* "in plenty of water" (*Kilālur Keśavan Nambīśan*).

dāham "burning" has the meaning of "thirst" in Mal. *dāhikkunnu* "to feel thirst". (*dahikkunnu* "burns") *paidāhas'ānti*, *dāhas'amanam*, "*dāhe taṇṇīr*".

dīnam "miserable" "dejected". Mal. meaning "illness" "disease". (same as *daṇḍam*) *daṇṇam*.

dīvāli *dīpāvali*, "a festival". In Mal. it is also used for "a spendthrift".

daivam "destiny" "fate" in S., but in Mal. it means "a god".

dhāti in Mal. means "smartness". *dhātiyum mōtiyum* "smartness and

fashion". *vāgdhātī* "smart witty speech". The word is not found in MW. and Kerala Sanskrit texts use it. *Mayūrasandēśa* by Udayarāja : *vāgdhātī sā vijitarayasamphullamallīmadhūlī*.

dhūrtan "a rogue", "cheat" in S., in Mal. *dhūrtaṭikkuka* means "to spend lavishly", waste; and *dhūrtan* = *dhārāli*, "a spendthrift".

dhūli "dust" in S.; in Mal. it also means "a prostitute", "a woman of loose character".

dhṛti in S. means "resolution", "firmness"; in Mal. it is used in the sense of "haste" "hurry". Gundert suggests derivation from Mal. *takṛti*; it is probably an emphatic form of *druti*. *dhṛtagatikkāran* is from *drutagatikkāran*, "a man in a hurry" moving hastily. Gundert's explanation of the meaning as "roaming about for his pleasure"; a man without any purpose" is not available now.

nānāvidham "various" in S., in Mal. it also means "disorder", "confusion".

nityanidānam in Mal. used for "daily maintenance".

nidānam special meaning in Mal. "regular"; (*nidānam āyi* - "regularly")

nivṛtti "return", "cessation" "inactivity" in S.; in Mal. it is also used in the sense of "way" "means", "satisfactory solution" *nivṛtti varuttuka*, *nivartikkuka* "to find a way out" *oru nivṛttium illa* "there is no way".

paṭhikkuka "to read" in S.; but "to learn" in Mal. The back formation *paṭhiyuka* (past *paṭhiñṇu*) "to understand" is also available.

pattram "leaf", "feather" in S., but in Mal. also "a letter", paper. *patrapravartakan* "journalist". *mudrapatram* "stamped paper".

pappatam from S. *parpatam* "pappat"; retranslated to S. as *Vṛttam*. "*Vṛttam uṇṭamalapadyamo*" (about feast). (Ulloor).

parastrī "wife of another". In Mal. it is used as opposite of *kulastrī*, and meant "a woman not confined to one" and was used to the woman belonging to the matrilineal system (like the Nairs).

parasyam "publicity" opposite of *rahasyam* "secret". There is no S. usage of this form. Maybe a Sanskritized form from *parattuka* "to spread". The gold scroll inscription in India Office Library, London, uses the form *parahasyam*.

paśu "any animal" in S.; but restricted to "a cow" in Mal. *Paśupati* retains the S. sense.

puccham "tail" in S.; in Mal. "dispute" "ridicule" den. verb. *pucchikkuka*. Prob. it is derived from Pkt. "*pucch*" got from S. *prcch* "to question". Kumāran Aśān has used it as a pure S. word *parapucchavum abhyasūyayum* (*cintāviṣṭayāya sīta*).

- pūja* "honour" "worship"; in Mal. colloquial usage it also means "beating".
- pūjya* "worthy of worship" "honorable"; in Mal. it means zero; humorously it is used in the sense of "one who deserves beating. See *Kuñcan Nambyār : pūjyas tvam sujanair aham ca vaṭibhiḥ śatrukkalāl an-vaham*. (stray verse)
- pūsaka* "cat"; used by *Kuñcan Nambyar*, as a Sanskritization of Mal. *pūcca*.
- prati* S. "towards". In Mal. it means (1) "a defendant" (2) "copy" *Onnām patipp āyiram prati*, "first edition, 1000 copies".
- pratyekam* S.; "one by one"; "distinct"; in Mal. it is used in the sense of "special" "single". *pratyekiccu* = *viśeṣiccu* ("specially"). *pratyekata* is used in the sense of "speciality", "individuality".
- prathamam* S. "first"; in Mal. it is "a sweet condiment" *aṭapraṭhamam*, *cakkaṭapraṭhamam* etc.
- pramādam* S. "inadvertence", "careless mistake"; in Mal. sometimes used now in the sense of "excellent", which is the popular Tamil meaning.
- praśnam* in S. means "question"; in Mal. it is used in the sense of "a problem". For "question" Mal. uses *cōdyam*. (*cōdikkuka* "to ask").
- prasaṅgam* S. "occasion", "attachment" "association". Modern Mal. usage is in the sense of "lecture". *prāsaṅgikan* "lecturer"; *vācā prasaṅgam* "extempore speech; *adhyakṣa prasaṅgam* "presidential speech". Gundert does not give the sense.
- pravṛtti* S. "action" "occupation"; Mal. usage was in the sense of "a parish" (= *aṃśam*): the revenue officer was called *pārvatyakkāran*.
- prasādam* S. "brightness", "favour". In Mal. the popular meaning is "sandal paste, flowers of offering" etc. obtained from temples as marks of the deity's favour. *tīrthavum prasādavum* "the holy water and the sandal paste"; *prasādam kuriyituka* "to mark sandal wood paste on the forehead" etc. In Tamil the special sense acquired by the word is offerings of food etc. obtained from temple as marks of the deity's favour. LVR. derives Tamil *śātam* "food" from this word.
- prātaḥ* is from S. *prātar* "early morning" and means in Mal. "breakfast" (= *prātar aśanam*).
- prārabdham* S. "commenced", "begun"; Mal. usage in the sense of "affliction" "troubles" is an extension of *prārābdhakarmaṇ* "the action of previous lives commencing to mature" (= *kaṣṭappāt*).
- phalitam* S. "fructified", "produced" "fulfilled". In Mal. the special significance is "humour" "joke". *phalitam paṭayuka* "to crack jokes". *phalitarasam* "humorous mood".

baddham S. "bound" "tied". In Mal. *baddhappāṭu* is "urgent business" and *baddhappetuka* is "to be in a hurry".

bahaḥam S. "dense" "ample" "abundant". In Mal. it is used in the sense of "confusion" "frenzy"; prob. Sanskritized form of *vekali* "excitement".
śīmamadyam kittumo kittiyāl kuṭikkum nānī mahābaḥālattil sukhattinṇate pattū (K.K. Raja).

bhaṅgi S. "curve" "waveline" "indirect way"; In Mal. the popular sense is "beauty" "grace". Pronounced *bhaṇṇi*.

bīṭi (*vīṭi*) S. "rolled up betel leaf"; mod. Mal. usage is in the sense of "beedi" (tobacco rolled in some leaf).

bhāgavata S. original meaning "worshipper of god" is changed to "musician" in Mal. Tamil etc. (The worshippers used music for their *bhajāna*).

bhramam S. "whirling" and "error" "mistake". Special Mal. sense is "attachment" "blind love". *bhramikkuka* "to fall in love".

bhrāntan S. "roaming" "confused"; Mal. sense is "mad"; *bhrānta* is "madness". "addiction or over attachment" is also an extended sense *kalibrānta*; *ānabhrānta*.

maṇi "crown", in Mal. *maṇiṭ vekkuka* means "to defeat" or "to deceive", "to defeat" (idiomatic).

maṇi S. "gem"; in Mal. it also means "a bell". *maṇinādam* "the sound of a bell"; *maṇimulakkam* "echoing sound of a bell".

maryād a S. "limit"; "rules of society". In Mal. it means "decency", "propriety" "courteousness". ("one who does not cross the limits of propriety is *maryādakkāran*; *maryāda kāṇikkuka*, "show courtesy".

mānam Mal. "sky" (variant literary form *vānam*) is different from S. *mānam* "honour". cf. *mānikkuka*. (*māniccukonṭacchan kumpiṭun-nerattanṇāṇakalikkum mutukilerī* (*Kṛṣṇagātha*))

māri S. "small pox" (*Māriyamma* - goddess controlling small pox). In Mal. it means "heavy rain" *māri coriyunna nēratu govindan mēreppōy nīrellām ēlkkum meyyil* (*Kṛṣṇagātha*).

māleyam S. "a garland maker" (from *mālā*); but in Mal. it means "sandal wood". (from *malaya*). Kerala S. poets use it in this sense and *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa* derives it from *malaya* itself. (*Prakriyāsarvasva*)

Mukhāntaram (= *mukhēna* or *mukhāntareṇa*) lit. another mouth (or face). Mal. "through another person".

mūrkhān S. "a fool": in Mal. "cruel" "hard hearted". One type of snake is called *murkhan* in S.

mṛga "deer" in S., but "any animal" in Mal. The Vedic usage seems to be in the sense of "animal". *mṛgo na bhīmaḥ kucaro giriṣṭhaḥ* "like a terrible animal moving in the mountain".

mēdhāvi S. "intelligent"; in Mal. mod. usage is in the sense of "dominant". *Brāhmaṇa mēdhāvitvam* "Brahmin dominance". *puṛuṣa mēdhāvitvam* "male dominance".

mōham S. "swoon" "infatuation"; in Mal. it also means "desire". *Mōhik-kuka* "to be infatuated".

Mōhinī S. "charming girl"; Mal. "dancing girl"; pejorative sense "prostitute". *Mōhiniyāttam* a special type of dance. *Viṣṇu*'s incarnation as a charming girl is as *Mōhinī*.

yajāmānan S. "one who performs a sacrifice"; Mal. sense "master" is a widening of it.

yaṣṭi "staff" in S.; sometimes used for a *saṃuyāsin*. In Mal. *Kuñcan Nambyar* uses it for stupid, foolish. Also *yaṣṭitvam* "stupidity". *yaṣṭikalkallātitu tonnumo?* (PT)

Rahasyam "secret". In Mal. it is used also in the sense of "illicit sexual relationship". e.g. *rahasyakkāran* "a lover" (= *jāran*). *rahasyam cōdikkuka* "to solicit".

vartamānam S. "present" "occurring"; in Mal. used in the sense of "current news" (= *Vṛttāntam*). *Vārtā*.

vastu S. "object" "a thing"; Mal. it also means "landed property". *Vastuta* mean "the truth of the matter".

vāddhyān is not a S. word, but shortened form of *upāddhyāyan* "teacher". The intermediate form *vāddhyāyan* is found in *Kṛṣṇagātha*.

vāśana S. "instinct", "impressions from past life". In Mal. it is "fragrance" "flavour"; the special sense in Tamil is "odour", "bad smell".

vikāram S. "modification" "change", Modern Mal. usage in the sense of "emotion". Forms like *vaikārika* "emotional" are common. *vikāri* "rev. father" is from English "vicar".

vitaraṇam in S. means "giving"; in Mal. it is used in the sense of "distribution". It may be a Sanskritized form or overlapping with the Malayalam word *vitarka* "to scatter".

viśeṣa S. "specific distinction" (opp. *sāmānya*). In Mal. it has the sense of "news"; it is also used in the sense of excellence - *viśeṣamāyi* "it is very good".

vyavasāyam "resolution" in S.; mod. Mal. usage is in the sense of "industry" *vyavasāyavatkaṇam* "industrialization".

śakāram S. "the letters": in Mal. the meaning is "abuse" (using harsh words). *śakārikkuka* "to abuse".

śaṇṭha S. (from *Śaṭha* or *ṣaṇḍa*). MW gives the meaning "eunuch". In Mal. it means "quarrel". *Kuñcan Nambyār* uses the form *ceṇṭakkāran* (*caṇṭakkāran*) in the sense of "a quarrelsome person".

śānti is also used in Mal. for temple rituals performed by the priest. *śāntidvijah*, *śāntikkāran* "temple priest", *mēśśānti* "head priest". *kīlśānti* "assistant priest".

śikṣa S. "learning", "training"; Mal. "punishment". Another meaning "perfection" is found in Nambutiri dialect. *bhakṣaṇam śikṣayāyi* (*Veṇmaṇi*); the colloquial form is *kṣa*. *nalla kṣayāyi* "it is very good".

śiṣyan S. "student", but an extra Mal. sense is "a servant".

śuṇṭhi S. "dried ginger". In Mal. the sense is "anger". *śuṇṭhi kaṭikkuka* (lit. "to bite ginger"). *śuṇṭhi piṭikkuka*, *śuṇṭhi eṭukkuka* etc. are used in the sense of "getting angry". It is not clear whether the phrase has anything to do with *cunṭu kaṭikkuka* "to bite one's lips" (as a sign of anger).

śumbhan S. "shining"; common Mal. usage is in a derogatory sense "a useless fool". *vajraśumbhan* lit. "shining like a diamond" is used as a term of abuse.

śēkharam "head ornament" in S., in Mal. it also means "collection" the verbal form *śēkharikkuka* means "to collect". Perhaps from *cēkharikkuka*.

śrāvakan S. "a Buddhist"; in Mal. it was used also to refer to the militant Nambutiri Brahmins of the various *Saṅghas*. (usage in *Candrot-savam*).

saṃrambham S. "fight", "anger"; in Mal. it is used normally in the sense of "beginning" (*ā + rambha*).

saṃsāram S. "worldly life"; in Mal. it means "talking", while in Tamil it means "wife". *saṃsārikkuka* means "to talk" in Mal.

sadya Mal. "feast": the word is a *tadbhava* form of S. *sagdhi* and has nothing to do with S. *sadyah* "instantly".

santōṣam "satisfaction" in S.; in Mal. "happiness".

saṃādhānam "Solution" in S.; but "reply" and "peace" in Mal.

sambandham S. "relationship"; Mal. "marital relationship", the form of hypergamous marriage with women of matrilineal families.

sambhāram S. collection of provision; in Mal. it has a special sense

"buttermilk mixed with water and spices".

asmādi for Sanskrit 'asmadādi', in the sense of "our people", "our kinsmen".

ātmārthata is used in Mal. in the sense of "sincerity", *ātmārthamāyi* "sincerely". In S. *ātmārtham* is "for the self".

ādāyam used in Mal. in the sense of "income", *ādāya-nikuti* is "income tax".

tīśvarādhiṇam used as a noun in Mal. in the sense of "God's grace", "good fortune".

tīṣal means "little" in Sanskrit; in Mal. it has an additional meaning "doubt", "hesitation" *tīṣal kūṭāte* "without any hesitation"; *tīṣal illētum* "there is no doubt".

kadanam "killing" in Sanskrit; but "sorrow" in Mal.

jāgrata used in the sense of "vigilance"; perhaps from Sanskrit *jāgaritā* or *jāgratā*.

yaṣṭi "stick" in Sanskrit, also used for 'Samnyāsins'. In Mal. it is used in the sense of 'a fool', especially in the works of *Kuñcan Nambyār*.

vidvān "scholar" in Sanskrit, used in Malayalam in the sense of "a person", especially by *Kuñcan Nambyār*. *mattoṟu vidvān* "another person".

'maddalam arayil urappiccīṭina

vidvānōṭuka pāram daṇḍam'

sahāya S. "help", "companion"; Mal. it means "aid", "favour".

sāadhanam S. "material for effecting"; in Mal. it is also used in the sense of "a thing" (*vastu*).

sādhu S. "perfect", "good", "valid"; in Mal. it is used for "the poor".

sāvadhānam S. "carefully", "attentively". In Mal. the meaning is "slowly".

siddhāntam S. "established truth" firm conviction'; in Mal. it means "deep grudge" (*vāṣi*).

siddhi In Mal. *siddhi kūṭuka* means "die".

svarūpam S. "one's own shape", "image". In Mal. it also means "a dynasty". *kolattiri svarūpam*.

haram in S. means 'what takes away' (*pāpaharam*, etc.). The usage in Mal. in the sense of "excitement", "intoxication" is based on a homophonous Arabic loan word.

hallohalam "joyful noise" is not found in classical Sanskrit; but found in South Indian Sanskrit texts like *Keralābharana*.

5. MALAYALAM VERBAL FORMS FROM SANSKRIT

Generally when two languages come into close contact, it is the nouns and indeclinables [adverbs] that are taken as loans. Compound words and phrases may also be borrowed. But the verbal system is the least affected; the suffixes are also not borrowed usually. In the case of Malayalam and other cultivated Dravidian languages, Sanskrit verbal forms are borrowed freely, and the indigenous verbal suffixes added to them.

Verbal roots in Sanskrit are generally monosyllabic when they are borrowed into Malayalam [and other Dravidian languages], a vowel *i-* is added at the end to make them dissyllabic, if the original root ends in a consonant. The suffixes of tenses and moods are added to the stem thus formed.

<i>pac</i>	'to cook'	-	<i>pacikkunnu</i>	'cooks'
			<i>paciccu</i>	'cooked'
			<i>pacikkum</i>	'will cook'
			<i>pacikkuvān</i>	'to cook'
			<i>pacikkaṇam</i>	'must cook'
			<i>pacikkēntā</i>	'need not cook'
<i>vad</i>	'to speak'	-	<i>vadikkunnu</i>	etc.
<i>has</i>	'to smile'	-	<i>hasikkunnu</i>	
<i>dah</i>	'to burn'	-	'to digest' - <i>dahikkunnu</i>	

To convert a noun into a verbal stem, a similar transformation is made, the final vowel of the nominal stem being substituted by *i-*.

<i>sukha</i>	'happy'	-	<i>sukhikkunnu</i>	'is happy'
<i>duḥkha</i>	'sorrow'	-	<i>duḥkhikkunnu</i>	'suffers misery'
<i>dhyāna</i>	'meditation'	-	<i>dhyānikkunnu</i>	'meditates'
<i>sneha</i>	'love'	-	<i>snehikkunnu</i>	'loves'
<i>guṇadoṣa</i>	'good and bad'	-	<i>guṇadoṣikkunnu</i>	'advises as to what is good and what is bad'
<i>dāha</i>	'thirst'	-	<i>dāhikkunnu</i>	'feels thirsty'
(used with subject in the genitive case, <i>enikku dāhikkunnu</i>)				
<i>sahāya</i>	'help'	-	<i>sahāyikkunnu</i>	'helps'
<i>puṣpa</i>	'flower'	-	<i>puṣpikkunnu</i>	'flowers'
<i>phala</i>	'fruit'	-	<i>phalikkunnu</i>	'fructifies'

c) In the case of verbal roots where there is the possibility of the vowel of the root to get *guṇa* form ($\bar{i} > e, u > o$), that change is made before adding the vowel *i* at the end of the root.

<i>nī</i>	'to lead'	-	<i>nayikkunnu</i>	'leads'
<i>budh</i>	'to know'	-	<i>bōdhikkunnu</i>	'knows'
<i>dr̥s</i>	'to see'	-	<i>dar̥sikkunnu</i>	'sees'
<i>hr̥</i>	'to steal'	-	<i>harikkunnu</i>	'stelas'
<i>bhū</i>	'to be'	-	<i>bhavikkunnu</i>	'becomes'

<i>kṣubh</i>	'to be agitated'	-	<i>kṣōbhikkunnu</i>	'is agitated'
<i>mṛ</i>	'to die'	-	<i>marikkunnu</i>	'dies'
<i>vr̥dh</i>	'to grow'	-	<i>var̥ddhikkunnu</i>	'grows'
<i>khid</i>	'to suffer'	-	<i>khēdikkunnu</i>	'suffers'

d) When the nominal stem ends in *i*, no additional *i* is needed.

<i>stuti</i>	'praise'	-	<i>stutikkunnu</i>	'praises'
<i>sr̥ṣṭi</i>	'creation'	-	<i>sr̥ṣṭikkunnu</i>	'creates'

Even though it seems possible that any Sanskrit root can be used in a corresponding Malayalam verbal form, it is found in actual practice that only certain roots are borrowed in this way. The use of making verbal forms from Sanskrit nominal stems is also restricted to certain terms. In many other cases the verb *ceyyuka* 'to do' is added to a noun form derived from the Sanskrit verbal root. In the case of monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel, this is the normal procedure.

<i>dā</i>	'to give'	<i>dānam ceyyuka</i>	'to donate'
		(not <i>dānikkuka</i> or <i>yacchikkuka</i>)	
<i>sthā</i>	'to stand'	<i>sthiti ceyyuka</i>	'to stand'
<i>snā</i>	'to bathe'	<i>snānam ceyyuka</i>	'to bathe'
<i>gai</i>	'to sing'	<i>gānam ceyyuka</i>	'to sing'
<i>pā</i>	'to drink'	<i>pānam ceyyuka</i>	'to drink'

Addition of *ceyyuka* to the noun form is sometimes possible even in cases where direct verbal form is allowed.

- 1) *anu-mikkuka* 'infer'
- anu-mānikkuka* -do-
- anumānam ceyyuka* -do-
- 2) *bhajikkuka* 'to praise' 'to take refuge'
- bhāgikkuka* 'to cut into pieces'
- bhāgam ceyyuka* -do-
- 3) *drōhikkuka*
- drōham ceyyuka*.

It may be noted that '*kkuka*' is one of the suffixes of causative verbal form in Malayalam.

<i>tiriyuka</i>	-	<i>tirikkuka</i>
<i>marīyuka</i>	-	<i>marikkuka</i>
<i>ulayuka</i>	-	<i>ulakkuka</i>
<i>kāṇuka</i>	-	<i>kāṇikkuka</i>

No causative sense is implied in making verbal forms from Sanskrit

roots by the addition of 'ikkuka'. But in certain cases the meaning of the Sanskrit root gets some change in Malayalam, and as a result a back formation without the 'kk' is also made.

Paṭh means 'to read' in Sanskrit; in Malayalam it means also 'to study'; the form '*paṭhikkuka*' 'to study' is considered a causative form; out of which the reflexive form *paṭhiyuka* 'to understand' is made (past tense form '*paṭhiñṇu*').

Ghaṣ 'to eat'; the normally expected form *ghasikkuka* is not generally used; instead the popular form is *ghāsuka* (past tense form '*ghāsi*'), as found in dialects.

las gives the normal form *lasikkuka* (past tense '*lasiccu*'). *Ullas* > *ullasikkuka*. But with the prefix 'vi' the verbal form is not *vilasikkunnu*, but *vilasunnu* (past tense, '*vilasi*').

'malar aḷakil niraccorōṭṭupātram

'vilasi vilāsinitan valam karattil'

[Vallathol]

The form *alasuka* (past tense '*alasi*') 'to fizzle out', 'abort' is similar to '*vilasuka*'; it seems to be from the form, *alasa* 'lazy', *alasāte*, 'not being lazy'.

antar-i-kkuka

'to die' is also a special form.

kṣayikkuka

'to decay' from *kṣi*.

kṣīṇikkuka

'to be exhausted' from *kṣīṇa*.

'bandhu'

friend, relative.

bāndhavikkuka

'to marry'.

The normal form from *dhāv* 'to run' is *dhāvanam ceyyuka*. But *Kuñcan Nambyār* has a peculiar usage '*dhāvati ceytu*' *addikkīnnatha dhāvati ceytu* 'ran away from that place'.

In the case of *kr* 'to do' the form *karikkuka* is not formed (since a homonymous Malayalam word 'to burn to charcoal' is available); but forms with prefixes are normal.

dhikkarikkuka

'to defy'

aḥamkarikkuka

'to be proud'

saṁskarikkuka

'to perform the obsequious rites'

upakarikkuka

'to be of use'

The form '*vīśuka*' 'to fan' seems to be from the root *vyāj* 'to fan' (*vyajana*) 'fan', *vījati* 'fans'); the formation *vīśunnu* (*vīśi*, past tense) follows the normal Malayalam pattern and not the loan pattern. It is used both as causative and reflective. *kāttu vīśunnu*, *viśarikoṇṭu vīśunnu*.

The verbal form from Sanskrit *kūj* (*kūjati*) is *kūkuka* (past tense *kūki*), not *kūjikkuka*.

The Malayalam word *cāvunnu* 'dies' is probably from the Sanskrit *Śavati* (*śava* 'corpse'); but its behaviour pattern is not like that of a Sanskrit loan. Past tense, '*cattu*'.

The Sanskrit root *muṣ* 'to steal' gives two forms in Malayalam *mōṣṭikkuka* and *mōṣaṇikkuka*.

Some interesting verbal forms from Sanskrit nouns are given below.

madyapikkuka from Sanskrit *madyapa*, drunkard.
anukūlikkuka from *anukūla*
pratikūlikkuka from *pratikūla*
bāndhavikkuka from *bāndhava*, 'to have sambandha form of wedding', (special meaning).

andhālikkuka prob. from *andha*, 'to be bewildered', 'to forget'. (irregular form).

kaṣaṇikkuka (*kaṣṇikkuka*), 'to cut into pieces', also 'to suffer difficulties' from *kaṣaṇam*.

Śēkharikkuka 'to collect', 'to amass' from *Śēkhara*; but there is no Sanskrit verb in that sense. It seems to be Sanskritized form of *Cēkharikkuka*.

kattirikkuka (*katrikkuka*) from *kattira*;

'a pair of scissors' (Skt. *karrikā*) and means 'to cut with scissors'.

Svarūpikkuka 'to collect', 'to amass' is from *svarūpa*, though the meaning has changed.

In the case of *nirūpikkuka*, 'to consider', a shorter form *nirupikkuka* is also available.

*'nirupikkumpōlccōrum kariyum
 paricoṭu pātramatinkal kkāṇā,m'*

[*Kuñcan Nambyar, Pātracaritam*]

bhargikkuka, 'to embezzle', 'to cheat' is supposed to be from Skt. *bhṛj*, but is likely to be from Mal. *perukkuka* in a Sanskritized form.

Negative verbal suffixes are also sometimes added to Sanskrit verbal stems.

bahumāniyā 'I will not respect'

'bahumāniyā nān āreyum bhuvi'

(*Uṇṇāyi, Nalacaritam*)

alasāte 'without being lazy'.

'alasātoru sūci śilpadakṣan'

(*Vallattol, Orarippirāvā*).

Verbal forms with the negative prefix *a/an* added to the root is not normal in Sanskrit; but in Malayalam such negative forms are available.

ādarikkuka x *anādarikkuka* 'disregard', 'not show respect' *Viśvasikkuka* x *aviśvasikkuka* 'disbelieve', 'not believe' *satkarikkuka* x *asatkarikkuka* 'dishonour', 'disregard'.

"*haritprabhukkaleyorikkalum*
asatkariccatillaham kināvitum"

[*Unṇāyi*, *Nalacaritam*, I. Padam 32].

6. MANIPRAVALAM IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Maṇipravāḷam is a kind of hybrid language combining the local language with the classical Sanskrit. In Malayalam the *Maṇipravāḷam* developed into a powerful literary genre. The *Līlātilaka*, a Sanskrit work generally ascribed to the fourteenth century A.D. * deals exhaustively with the language, theme and rhetoric of this *Maṇipravāḷa* literature in Malayalam. The term is used both for the language and the special type of love-poem using this language. Pure Sanskrit words with Sanskrit terminations are mixed harmoniously, but in an indiscriminate form, with pure Malayalam words, and at times even some Malayalam words are given Sanskrit terminations.

This tradition seems to have started on the Sanskrit stage of Kerala, where the *Vidūṣaka* in the *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* performances of Sanskrit plays explained Sanskrit and Prakrit passages in a mixed macaronic style; parodies of the original texts were also made in this hybrid language. What was started for comic effect soon became very popular and spread even to serious literature.

Though the *Līlātilakam* claims that *Maṇipravāḷam* is a special feature confined to the Malayalam literature, such mixing of languages is known in other literatures also, including the other Dravidian literatures and the Kawi literature of Jawa. Even the term *Maṇipravāḷam* is quite ancient. This expression, literally meaning 'a combination of gems and corals' is a term primarily used for the type of macaronic mixture of Sanskrit with another language, and secondarily for a type of literature using such language.

According to the late Professor A.N. Upadhyaya its first occurrence is in the Jaina literature of *Kaṃṇāṭaka* in the ninth century A.D., in Jayadhavala's commentary (837 A.D.) on *Jināsena's Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama*. Abhinavagupta of Kashmir in the eleventh century, while explaining the term *ardhasaṃskṛta* (semi-Sanskrit) in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* passage dealing with the languages to be used on the stage (Ch.33, verse 389) says in his *Abhinavabhāratī* commentary

* Dr. Unnikittav considers it a very late work. (Ph.D. thesis, unpublished.)

that according to some, *ardha-saṃskṛta* is the mixing of Sanskrit with the local language, and is called *Maṇipravāḷa* in the south and *Ṣaṭakula* in Kashmir.

Pāṭkurki Sāmanātha kavi, a Telugu poet of the twelfth century claims that his devotional poem *Vṛṣādhīpaśataka* is in the *Maṇipravāḷam* style:

*anyāyamu cētulandu bhagavadaṅghriyugalam namāmi
nemnanamuna saṃsmaṛāmi yanu mātala nin
varivaskaromy aham manuce maṇipravāḷamuna
nankana sēyudu bhaktalōkahṛd vanaja-
vihāralōla basava basava basava vṛṣādhīpa.*

In this poem there are examples of sanskrit being mixed with other languages like Tamil, Telugu, *Kamāṭaka* and Marathi separately.

In the Kannada literature, *Pārśvanātha Purāṇa* refers to Aggala as a devotee of Jina and the author of *Jinanāthastavana* composed in the *Maṇipravāḷa* style:

*vāstavabhaktiyutam rūpastavana maṇipravāḷam jinanātha
sthāstavana manoda visi bhuvanastuta nādāggalam gamag
galarolare*

The *Vaiṣṇava* Tamil literature, especially the commentarial literature dating from the 13th to the 17th century is often in the *Maṇipravāḷa* style, and is called by that name. It contains long Sanskrit compound words with Tamil terminations, mixed with pure Tamil words, and sometimes the Sanskrit stems are also adapted to the Tamil phonematic pattern. No pure Sanskrit word with Sanskrit termination is found in this kind of *Maṇipravāḷam*, which is mainly in prose.

In the Sangam literature the middle portion of the *Akanānūru* (poems 121 - 300) is called *maṇi miṭai pavaḷam* ('an ornament intermingling gems and corals'). This term is a Tamil translation of *maṇipravāḷam*, though the *Akanānūru* poems cannot be considered to be in that mixed language.

In the *Vīracōḷiyam*, a grammatical work on Tamil written by *Puttamit-tiranār* in the eleventh century A.D. contains references to *Maṇipravāḷam*. It is defined as a mixture of Tamil words with Sanskrit words, without using the *etukai* (second syllable rhyme of the lines).

*Itāye vaṭavelutteitil viraviyalin detukai
yētumillā maṇipiravāḷanaṭraivaccollinnitāiye
muṭiyum patamuṭait tānkiḷavikkaviyin
toṭaiyeturainar pirāḷikaiyāti tuṇa tariye*

[*virviyal* is that containing Sanskrit phonemes, and *manpravāḷam* is that containing Sanskrit words, but without *etukai* rhyme]. This shows

that the *Maṇipravāḷam*, as a literary genre, was not a strange phenomenon in early Tamil, though in later times it seems to have been reduced to a linguistic aberration.

In his paper on the Malayalam language, originally written by about 1816, and posthumously published in *Indian Antiquary* (1882), F.W. Ellis says (p.235):

"Compositions in *Maṇipravāḷa* are common throughout the countries where the Tamil and its dialects are spoken. The *Bhāratam* was a few years ago translated into Tamil *Maṇipravāḷam* from which I shall give a single extract to compare with the Malayalam":

arumpu pōlā tava dantapaṅktiḥ
kurumbai pōlā kucamaṇḍaladvayam
karumbu pōlā madhurā ca vāṇī
irumpu pōlā hṛdayam kim āsīt

"Like young buds are the even rows of thy teeth
Like tender coconuts the two orbs of thy bosom
Like the sugarcane thy honeyed words,
Like iron why then your heart?"

Here the first half of each line is in pure Tamil and the second pure Sanskrit."

This verse quoted by Ellis is from the *Virāṭaparva maṇipravāḷamañjarī* (canto III, verse 45) of *Kaḷamūr Viśvanātha kavi* written by about 1800 A.D. In the Adyar Library edition of the work (1985), the verse reads with some minor changes:

arumpu pōlē tava bhānti dantāḥ
kurumpai pōlē kucamaṇḍalam ca
karumpu pōlē madhurā ca vāṇī
irumpu pōlē tava uḷḷam asti.

This poem is obviously an imitation of the popular *Maṇipravāḷa* literature in Malayalam. *Viśvanāthakavi* seems to be aware of the artificial nature of the poem in Tamil, and considers that it will be interesting because of the contrast between Sanskrit and Tamil, like a string of pearls and corals (I-11)

muttukkalālum iha naḥ pavaḷaṇṇalālum
kottukkalanta taimḷ ālapi saṁskṛtena
ettikkilum bhavatu hāralateva baddhā
puttikku malkṛtiriyam sudrśam vibhūṣā.

In Kerala, however, *Maṇipravāḷam* was considered as a har-

monious combination of Sanskrit and Malayalam words in such a way that the difference is not felt. In the *Līlātilaka* it is clearly stated that *maṇi* in *Maṇipravāḷa* does not mean 'pearl', but 'ruby' which is red in colour. *Pravāḷa* means the red coral (*pavīlam*). In *Maṇipravāḷam* Sanskrit and Malayalam should combine harmoniously, like ruby and coral, without the least trace of discord. In Tamil the combination may indicate the contrast, but not in Malayalam.

Līlātilam says:

*māṇikyavidrumayor hi samānasūtre
protayos tulyajātīyavarṇatayā aikyam
ivābhāti, na punar māṇikyamuktayoh.*

The author quotes some stanzas, emphasizing the contrast between Malayalam and Sanskrit words as constituting the source of charm in *Maṇipravāḷam*, but disapproves that view:

(1) *Tamil saṃskṛtam ennulla
sumanassukaḷ koṇṭoru
inṭamāla toṭukkintēn
pūṇḍarīkāḷṣa pūjayāy.*
(*Anantapuravarṇanam*)

(2) *saṃskṛtam ākina ceṇṇaḷ inīrum
naṭṭamiḷ ākina piccakamalarum
eka kalamnu karambakamālām
vṛttamanojñām saṃgrathayiṣye.*
(anonymous)

"Like a garland of red lillies and jasmine intermingled, *Maṇipravāḷa* is attractive through contrast". The author of *Līlātilaka* rejects this view. He quotes two lines from a medical text *Yogapancasatam* in support of his view that he term *maṇi* in *maṇipravāḷa* stands for *Keralabhāṣā* and *pravāḷa* stands for Sanskrit.

"*Tamil maṇ saṃskṛtam pavaḷam
kokkinten urttamāna cennūnmel*".

Even this fundamental view was lost sight of later, with the strong impact of Sanskrit. A.R. Raja raja varma, while dedicating his translation of the *Śākuntala* to his uncle *Kerala varma Valiyakoyil Tampurān*, refers to Sanskrit as *maṇi*.

*maṇer mahārghasya guṇānabhijñaiḥ
pravāḷabhūyiṣṭhapadaprayogam*

*granthasya tasyābhinavam vivartam
abhyarthito ham yad ajalpam evam.*

The *Līlātilakam* defines *Maṇipravāḷa* as *bhāṣāsaṃskṛtayogo maṇipravāḷam*, 'Maṇipravāḷa is the harmonious combination of Malayalam and Sanskrit words'. Here *bhāṣā* means Kerala *bhāṣā*. Two main dialects are available in Kerala, *utkr̥ṣṭabhāṣā*, or the upper class dialect spoken by the *Traivarnikas*, and the *apakr̥ṣṭabhāṣā*, the lower class dialect used by the *pāmaras* or the lower caste people. It is the upper class dialect, with the preponderance of Sanskrit elements, that is recommended for *Maṇipravāḷam*.

Regarding the *bhāṣā* to be used in *Maṇipravāḷa* the *Līlātilakam* says that its vocabulary can be classified under three main headings (1) *Deśī*, (2) *saṃskṛtabhavā*, and, (3) *smṃskṛtarūpā*. The *deśī* consists of independent words with conventional meaning (*nūḍhi*); this is further divided into three types: (a) *śudhā*, pure words which cannot be connected with words in other languages, (b) *bhāṣāntarabhavā*, words whose cognates are found in other languages. *Saṃskṛtabhavā* words are those whose Sanskrit roots can easily be understood. *tevar*, *varkam*, *palaka*, *kamuku* (derived from Sanskrit *deva*, *varga*, *phalaka* and *kramuka* respectively). Words derived from Prakrit, like *paḷiṅg*, *āṇa* and *vakkāṇam* can also be included in this class. *Saṃskṛtasama*, the third class of words are *tatsama* words similar to Sanskrit in form, but with certain modifications at their end - shortening of long vowels at the end, adding of -*vu* at the end of words ending in -*r*, etc.

Besides these *Līlātilakam* allows Sanskritization of Malayalam words to be used in literary works:

sandarbhe saṃskṛtīkṛtā ca. This type of hybrid words seems to have been used on the Kerala stage by the *Vīdūṣaka* for humour; this became popular, and some scholars extended its usage to serious literature also. Several illustrations given in the *Līlātilakam* shows that this became fashionable for some time:

*koṇi kayā, kelantī, ūṇurakkau
pōkkāṃcakre, pūpukire, tatallire
mamaṇṭire, etc.*

uṇṇunīlisandeśa has usages like *pinṇiṭethāḥ*, *māṭampīnām*, *pottayitvā*, *ponmetānām*, etc. The *Candrotsava* has used *viḷakkumāṭasya* and *poṭibhiḥ*. But later the tendency to use such mongrel forms decreased and was confined to humorous pieces. *Śivolli Nārāyanan Nambutiri* has composed one such popular verse:

*koṭṭattenṇābhir appair aval vitariyatair
nanmalarbhiḥ, paḷāḍhyair*

reṭṭomptaiḥ, pakva cakkāmuribhir api perum
prītanāy pratal unṭvā
kuṭṭikkumpām tuḷumpyān kanivinoṭu yadā
vighnam unṭāvate kaṇ-
ṇittvāppol kākkayitvā mama taratu mahā-
mānam onnānamontaḥ

Even though the author of the *Līlātilaka* generally accepts the orthodox view that Sanskrit is an eternal language which has no beginning, and all other languages are ultimately derived from it, he distinguishes *tadbhava* words from *deśī* words, and is against arbitrary attempts at deriving them from Sanskrit words:

"iha saṃskṛtam anādi, anyad ādimat;
tasya saṃskṛtāt prabhavaḥ syāt." (II. 4. Vṛtti)
"ādiścāsyāḥ saṃskṛtam ity āstheyam" (VII. 26, Vṛtti)

Following *Kumārīlabhaṭṭa*'s statement in the *Tantravārttika*, he says that words like *vayar*, *cor* and *pāṇip* are *nūḍha* indigenous words which cannot normally be derived from Sanskrit, and that arbitrary attempts at deriving them from Sanskrit *coraḥ*, *vairī* and *pāpaḥ* are fanciful and not acceptable.

This attack on arbitrary attempts at finding out Sanskrit derivation for Malayalam *deśī* words shows that the author of the *Līlātilaka* was not in favour of the view that Malayalam is derived from Sanskrit. His distinction between *Tatsama* and *Tadbhava* words derived from Sanskrit on the one hand and *bhāṣāntarasama* words which have cognate forms in the Dravidian languages (Telugu, Kannada and Tamil) on the other supports this. He may be considered to be the first scholar to take Malayalam as closely connected with Tamil, Kannada and Telugu as forming a family of languages distinct from Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Though the term *Maṇipravāḷa* primarily meant that type of hybrid, macaronic language mixing the local language with Sanskrit, in Kerala it developed into a literary genre, and *Līlātilakam* is primarily concerned with the grammar and rhetoric of that type of literature. In the restricted sense it meant a type of literary composition dealing with the theme of love written in the mixed language, extolling the charms of women; in the broad sense, it could refer to any work written in the mixed language.

As far as the *Maṇipravāḷa* love poems are concerned, the *Līlātilaka* insists that the combination of Sanskrit and Malayalam should be harmonious, and create unity of impression and aesthetic pleasure to the *sahṛdayas*. The Sanskrit words used must be simple and well-known to the people. In good *Maṇipravāḷa* the Malayalam words must be predominant. '*Tad uttamam bhāṣāprādhānye*'.

Nampyān Tamil, the long prose passage in Malayalam used on the Kerala stage by the *Nampyār* to give the story being enacted, contained long Sanskrit compounds, but not with Sanskrit terminations, and hence it is not considered as *Maṇipravāla* in *Līlātilakam*. This is similar to the prose, commentarial prose in Tamil which is called *Maṇipravāḷam* there.

The term *Bhāṣāmiśra* used in literature for compositions in Malayalam mixed with Sanskrit is also a kind of *Maṇipravāḷam*, taken in its general sense. In a verse from *Muhūrtavidhi* quoted in the *Līlātilakam* the author is apologetic for using the mixed language; even *Kaṇṇaśśan Rāma Paṇikkar* also uses the term in an apologetic manner in his *Śivārātrimā-hātmyam*.

‘Bhāṣāmiśramitennikalāie’

There is no need to take it as a technical term.

Early *Maṇipravāḷam* literature consists of the following works, eulogizing local ‘beauties’ in love-lyrics written in a harmonious mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam, as recommended in the *Līlātilakam*.

1. *Vaiśikatantram*, culled from *Mantrāṅkam Āṭṭaparakāram*. The verses were freely used on the *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* stage by the *Vidūṣaka*.
2. *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam*, generally assigned to the 13th century, by *Tevan Cirkumān*, on *Uṇṇiyacci*.
3. *Uṇṇiccinutevicaritam*, an anonymous work of the same period.
4. *Uṇṇiyāticaritam* of the 14th century, by *Dāmodaraccākyār*, author of the Sanskrit poem *Śivalilāsa*.
5. *Uṇṇinīlisandeśa*, later than the *Śukasandeśa* from which it quotes and is probably of the 14th century.
6. *Kokasandeśam*, also called *Cakravākasandeśam*, belonging to the latter half of the 14th century.
7. *Candrotsavam*, a poem in 5 cantos, of the 15th century where *Medinīvenṇilāvā* is the heroine; it is one of the best *Maṇipravāḷa* works from the literary and linguistic points of views.
8. *Padyaratnam*, an anthology of more than a dozen minor poems, describing women of the century.

In all these works, there is a preponderance of Malayalam words and the Sanskrit words used are simple, sonorous and familiar; the combination of Malayalam and Sanskrit is smooth.

The later *Maṇipravāḷa* literature consists of the *Campus*, *Āṭṭakkathas* and *Tullal* works.

(a) *Rāmāyaṇacampu* ascribed to Punam in the 15th century, *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampu* of Maḥiṣamaṇḍalan, *Nārāyaṇan Nambutiri*, *Tenkailanathodayam*, *Cellūranāthodayam* and *Rājaratnāvaliyam* by Nilakaṇṭha kavi are the most important campu works. Here the themes are mainly Purāṇic influence of Sanskrit become more prominent, long Sanskrit compounds are used, and the percentage of inflected Sanskrit words rose considerably compound words where Sanskrit and Malayalam words are combined become prominent. One example from *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampu* may be given as illustration.

*ampattonnakṣarālīkalitatanulate vedamākunna śākhi-
kkompattampotu pūkkum kusumatatiyil ēntunna pūntēkuḷampe
cempolttārbāṇadambhapraśamanasukṛtopāttasaubhāgyalakṣmī-
sampatte kumpitunnen kaḷaliṇa valayādhiśvarī viśvanāthe!*

(b) The *Āṭṭakkātha* literature used for Kathakali, contains Sanskrit verses to introduce the contexts of situation, and *Maṇipravāḷam* or Malayalam for the musical *padams* used for direct speech of the characters. The *Nalacaritam* by Unṇāyi Vāriyar sometimes uses *Maṇipravāḷam* even for the introductory verses. One verse may be given below:

*navaviraham ayantyaṁ naiṣadham cintayantyaṁ
janibhuvi damayantyaṁ jātātāpam vasantyaṁ
vyasanamakaleyāvān vinirannā'su devan
nalan aramata dāvānnāḷu pōvān trapāvān.*

(c) Kuṇṇan Nampyār, author of the *Tuḷḷal* works, was a follower of the dictum of *Līlātilakam* that in good *Maṇipravāḷam* words must have preponderance, if the work is to be popular. He said

*Bhāṣayerivarunna nalla maṇipravāḷam atākilo
Dūṣaṇam paravānum illa, viśeṣabhūṣaṇam āy varum.*

Besides the *Tuḷḷal* works he wrote a poem *Śrīkṛṣṇacaritam* in the *Maṇipravāḷa* style, and the poem itself came to be known as *Maṇipravāḷam*. Gundert has only this meaning for *Maṇipravāḷam*.

Even though Nampyār pointed out the way, writers were not interested in following him. In the beginning of the 20th century, Kerala varma Valiya koil Tampuran wrote the *Mayūrasandēśa*, in a Sanskrit-dominated *Maṇipravāḷa* style, and a *Maṇipravāḷa* translation of the *Śākuntala*, which at times becomes more difficult than the original:

e.g.

*kaṇṭhanāḷam alakil tiriccarupadam
ratham pirakil nōkkiyum
kuṇṭhanāy śarabhayena gātram atu
pūrvakāyagatam ākkiyum*

*inṭal pūṇṭu vivṛtān mukhāt pathi cavacca
darbhakaḷ patikkave*

*kant kolkakutikonṭu kimcid avanau
bhr̥ṣam nabhasi dhāvati [Act. I].*

It is the *Venmani* poets who made a drastic revolution in the language, by eschewing all unfamiliar Sanskrit words, and making the language acceptable to the ordinary Malayalam speaking people.

7. ATTITUDE TOWARDS SANSKRIT - A SOCIO LINGUISTIC STUDY

In the linguistic hierarchy which existed in Kerala for long, Sanskrit held the highest rank. People of the higher castes like the *Nambūtiris*, princes and *Ampalavāsis* (like *Vāriyars*, *Piṣūrotis*, *Nambī'sans* and *Potuvāls*) who were good scholars in Sanskrit used Sanskrit loan words unconsciously in their everyday Malayalam speech; others who were not so well read in that language tried to use Sanskrit words, phrases and quotations consciously for acceptance in the higher circle. *Āyurvedic* physicians like the *Aṣṭavaidyas* and astrologers were quoting profusely Sanskrit verses as authority in thier discussions. While discussing the features of *Keralabhāṣa*, the *Līlātīlakam* of the fourteenth Century A.D. treats it under two dialects, the upper class dialect or *utkr̥ṣṭabhāṣa* and the lower class dialect or *apakr̥ṣṭabhāṣā*; the former used Sanskrit words profusely and even the *Maṇipravāla* style was part of the upper class dialect.

Till recently there was a convention in many of the aristocratic and Brahmin families, and those who emulated them for status, that the pure, indigenous Malayalam words referring to the common birds and beasts should not be uttered early in the morning, but the corresponding Sanskrit terms should be used instead. Thus *aja* 'goat', *mānjāra* 'cat', *gaja* 'elephant', *vāyasa* 'crow', *śunaka* 'dog', *kukkuṭa* 'cock' etc., were the terms used in the morning. My sister's husband belonged to the *Nambūtiri* family of *Anāmparambā* and we had to refer to him as *Gajāpparambā* in the morning; the use of Malayalam terms was considered a sort of sin referred to as *māṭṭittam*, and to get rid of it we had to refer to the *Prātaḷ* of Vaikkam temple; '*vaikkattappante prātaḷ āścaryam*'!

The *Nambūtiri* boys after their upanayana initiation had also certain restrictions in the use of Malayalam at certain times; the well-known joke about Tolan calling out *pansasi daśāyām pāṣi* as a Sanskritized form of *Cakki pattāyattil, kayari* ('The maid servant Cakki has entered the granary - *panasa* = *cakka*, *daśa* = *pattā*, *pāṣa* = *kayar*) is indicative of this convention.

The astrologer community of *Paṇikkar* used Sanskritized high caste language in their professional life, but switched on to their own dialect in everyday life. The popular joke about *Paṇikkattiyaṛ's* code-switching is telling. One day when customers came for consultation and wanted to see *Paṇikkar*, his wife repeated correctly the sentence she had been taught by him: *paṇikkar*

virecanattinnāyi auṣadham pānam ceytu śayyayil sukham ām vaṇṇam śayik-kayāṇa." One of the customers asked her another subsidiary question: *'nnattē paṇikkattyārē?* 'Then what happened?' Automatically came the prompt reply in her pure dialect: *'nnat amṇi tūri.* 'Then had several loose motions'.

Till the beginning of this century education meant learning Sanskrit; there was nothing serious to learn about the mother tongue; it was absorbed by children automatically from the world. *Kṛṣṇavilāsa*, *Kumārasambhava* and *Raghuvamśa* were the Sanskrit texts taught; then came *Māgha*, *Kirātārjunīya* and *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. Sanskrit declension and conjugation, *Amarakośa*, *Aṣṭāṅgalvṛdaya*, and elements of astrology and mathematics were also included in the curriculum. The popular story-telling by *Cākyārs* in the temple precincts, quoting and fully explaining Sanskrit verses, also helped in popularising Sanskrit.

Sanskrit was held in high esteem by writers and people could understand it fairly well. Kerala poets like *Kulaśekhara*, *Līlāśuka*, *śaktibhadra*, *Lakṣmī dāsa* and *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* wrote purely in Sanskrit. According to the popular traditions there were eighteen Sanskrit scholars in the court of *Mānavikrama Zamorin* of Calicut - members of the *Payyūr Bhāṭṭa* family, *Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri* etc., and the nineteenth poet *Punam Nambūtiri* was called a 'half-poet', since he wrote in Malayalam. The story about the Malayalam devoional poet *Pūntānam*, *Nambūtiri* being slighted by *Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa* as a Malayalam poet is also indicative of the high position held by Sanskrit in society. *Uddanḍa Śāstri* seems to have attacked poetry in the regional language openly:

*Bhāṣākavinivaho'yam
doṣākaravad vibhāti bhuvanatale
Prāyeṇa vṛttahīnaḥ
Sūryāloke nirastagoprasarah*

(I consider the *bhāṣā* poets as full of defects - like the moon; normally they have no *vṛtta* - character, metre - and the splendour of their words - rays - disappears at the sight of scholars - the sun).

Poets in Malayalam often felt it necessary to defend their use of the mother tongue. *Kaṇṇaśśa Paṇikkar* says, "*bhāṣāmiśram itennikaḷāte*" ('don't despise it on the ground that it is mixed with the mother tongue').

Even the great popular Malayalam poet *Kuñcan Nampyār* found it expedient to state that he was equally proficient in Sanskrit and Malayalam and that he was using the simple Malayalam language to make his poems easily accessible to the common man for whom they were intended. He said that a *Maṇipravāla* style where *Keralabhāṣā* terms predominate is the best suited for poetry.

*bhaṭajanaṇṇāte naṭuvilulloru paṭayanikkiha cēruām
cāru kerala bhāṣatanne citam varū*

*bhāṣa yeṛi varunna nalla maṇipravālam atēṅkilō
dūṣaṇam parayānum illa viśeṣabhūṣaṇam āy varum.*

There was a general rule that Sanskrit names should be used for all rituals; hence Dravidian names had to be Sanskritized. There is a text giving the standard Sanskrit form for many of the common Malayalam names. They may be linguistically wrong or unacceptable in many cases, but shows the importance attached to Sanskrit.

<i>kēlan</i>	<i>kēraḷan</i>
<i>pāccan</i>	<i>paramēśvaran</i>
<i>tuppan</i>	<i>Subrahmanyān</i>
<i>pōtāyan</i>	<i>bhavadāsan</i>
<i>māyānan</i>	<i>mahāsenan</i>
<i>kiṭṭan/kannan</i>	<i>kṛṣṇan</i>
<i>nambiyāttan</i>	<i>Śāstrīśarman</i>
<i>rāyiran</i>	<i>rājaśekharaṇ</i>
<i>akkittan</i>	<i>agnidattan</i>
<i>cēnnan</i>	<i>jayantan/śeṣan</i>
<i>kōtan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>
<i>mākki</i>	<i>mahālakṣmi</i>
<i>nanṇayya</i>	<i>ārya</i>
<i>uṇṇima</i>	<i>Uma</i>
<i>pāppi</i>	<i>pārvati</i>
<i>kīli</i>	<i>kīrttida</i>

Some aristocratic families had fixed Sanskrit names for men and women. In my family men have *Ravi Śarman* as the Sanskrit name and women have *Śrī devī*; while worshipping at temples and in domestic rituals the Sanskrit name is used.

People preferred simple Dravidian names in ancient times, and literature is full of them. *Uṇṇiyāṭi*, *Uṇṇinanṇa*, *Uṇṇicirutēyi*, *kāli*, *nīli*, *kīli*, *kāva*, *cīru*, *ciṛuta*, *pāru*, *kōta*, *pāppi*, *iṭṭicciri*, *nanṇa*, etc., were popular names for women; for men common names were *kōman*, *kēlan*, *Tuppan*, *Pāccan*, *Cantu*, *kōntu*, *otēnan*, etc. Later came the fashion for Sanskrit terms. In the beginning of this century popular Bengali novels suggested many new Sanskrit names both for men and for women.

The *Līlatilakam* refers to the practice of women assuming or being given, fashionable alternate names (*ādhyappēr*). *Maṇipravālam* literature and popular stray verses show that this was the fashion of the day - *Māralekha*, *Medinīvenṇilāva*, *Māracemantika*, *Raṅgalakṣmī*. The heroine of the *śukasandēśa* had the aristocratic name of *Raṅgalakṣmī*; the favourite lady of the

poet Punam had the name *Māralekha*. The *Līlatilakam* is against the use of such names like Vijayamala and *Ḥamāṅkulam* in the neuter gender, but allows normal feminine aristocratic names (Chapter IV). Many of these names are in Sanskrit, though there is no universal rule about it.

In the case of place names and family names also the normal indigenous Malayalam terms are often Sanskritized in literature, especially the *Sandes'akāvya-s*. The distortions are so great that often it is difficult to identify them. The place names normally consist of two parts, each part is translated into Sanskrit separately. The second part is usually a general term like *kāṭṭa*, 'forest', *kuḷam* 'tank' *kunn* 'hill', *pāra* 'rock', *paḷḷi*, 'temple' etc. *kāṭṭa* may be Sanskritized into *vanam*, *kānanam*, *aranyam*. Thus *navāranya* can stand for Putuvana or Putumana or *Putukkāṭṭa* Perumanam may be Sanskritized into *Mahāṭavī* or *Mahāgrha*. Some specimen terms are given below; the list is by no means exhaustive.

Tiruvanantapuram	<i>tirēndaram</i>	<i>Syānandūram</i> .
Kollam	Kolambam	
<i>Veṇmaṭanāt</i>	<i>bimbali</i>	
Vaikkam	<i>Vyāghra (purī)</i>	
Kochi	<i>gōśrī</i>	

(All these are based on sound similarity)

<i>Trccemimaram</i>	<i>Raktaśākhī</i>	
<i>Oṭanātṭa</i>	<i>Inguḍībhūvibhāga</i>	
<i>Annakara</i>	<i>S'vetacchadataṭa</i>	<i>sitagaruttīram</i>
<i>Ḥavalli</i>	<i>abhinavalatā</i>	
<i>Ḥappalli</i>	<i>madhyamavihāra</i>	
<i>Āhuvāy</i>	<i>Aśvatthavaktrakṣetra</i>	
<i>Kaṭatturuttṭa</i>	<i>sindhudvīpam</i>	
<i>Mutalār</i>	<i>Vasutatimahāvāhinī</i>	

(The names based on meaning)

<i>Pōrkkalam</i>	<i>raṇakhala</i>	
<i>Ampalappulā</i>	<i>ambaranadī</i>	
<i>Tiruvañcikkulam</i>	<i>Tiru-añcai-kkalam</i> (in	
<i>Periyapurāṇam</i>),	<i>añjanakhalapurī</i> (in	
<i>Kokilasandeśa</i>) and <i>Pañcaraṅga</i> (in <i>Bhramarasandeśa</i>)		
<i>Koḷikkōṭṭa</i> (from <i>Koyil-kōṭṭa</i> <i>Kukkuṭakroḍa</i>		
<i>Kotunñallūr</i>	<i>(Kōṭum-Kāli-yūr?)</i>	<i>Kōṭilingapuram</i>
<i>Kaṭattanātṭa</i>	<i>Ghaṭotkacanātṭa</i>	<i>Bhaimīrājyam</i>
<i>Trippūñittura</i>	<i>Poru-nai-ttura</i>	<i>Pūṇattrayī</i>
<i>Kuṇavāy</i> <i>Guṇakā</i>		

<i>Guruvāyūr</i>	<i>Kuruvaiyūr</i>	(<i>Kokasandeśa</i>)
		<i>Gunipavanapura, Vātālaya etc.</i>
<i>Cīramelkkāṭṭ</i>		<i>Setūrdhvakānanan</i>
<i>Etakkāṭṭ</i>	<i>madhyātavi</i>	
<i>Perumpatappā</i>		<i>Balayakṣoṇī</i>

Sometimes there is ambiguity and confusion: *San̄gamagrāma* can be *kūṭallūr* or *Kuṭalmāṇikyam*; *jayantamaṇigalam* can be *Cennamaṇigalam* or *Cennās*; *Śukapura* can be *Covvara* or *Kiḷikkuriśśim̄igalam*.

Among family names also this tendency is prominent:

<i>Plāntol</i>	<i>Panasāndolita</i>
<i>Kelallūr</i>	<i>Keralasadgrāma</i>
<i>Putumana</i>	<i>Nūtanagrha</i>
<i>Meppattūr</i>	<i>Uparinavagrāma</i>

The euphemistic tendency of Sanskritization came to the fore-front in the case of community names; each community wanted a Sanskritized name for status.

<i>Cākkīyār</i>	>	<i>Ślāghya (vāk)</i>
<i>Mūttatā</i>	>	<i>Śivadviya</i>
<i>Piṣāroṭi</i>	>	<i>Vaiṣṇava, Piṣāraka and Bhaṭṭāraka</i>
<i>Vāriyar</i>	>	<i>mālākāra, Pāras'ava, Vārija</i>
<i>Nambiyār</i>	>	<i>mārdaṅgika, Pāṇivāda</i>

In the middle ages the fashion for Sanskrit terms produced many aspirated Sanskrit like forms from pure Malayalam terms.

<i>koṭṭi</i>	>	<i>goṣṭhi</i>
<i>pōḷan</i>	>	<i>bhoṣan, bhoskan, bhosk</i>
<i>eppan</i>	>	<i>ebhyan</i>
<i>vaḷal</i>	>	<i>vaṣal</i>
<i>vīmmiṭṭam</i>	>	<i>bimbiṣṭham</i>
<i>appan</i>	>	<i>apphan</i>
<i>accan</i>	>	<i>acchan</i>
<i>makan</i>	>	<i>mahan</i>
<i>tūvetṭi</i>	>	<i>dhīvattī</i>
<i>mūrca</i>	>	<i>mūrccha</i>
<i>ōṭṭa</i>	>	<i>ōṭṭha, 'hole', 'sharpness'</i>
<i>tākkul a</i>	>	<i>sākṣa 'bolt of door'</i>
<i>iḷippan</i>	>	<i>ibibhyan</i>
<i>kalī (ppā)</i>	>	<i>kalabham</i>
<i>cekkarikkuka</i>	>	<i>śekharikkuka</i>

<i>tōrttu (munḍa)</i>	>	<i>dhimartu munḍa</i> (humorous use)
<i>drutagati (Śkt.)</i>	>	<i>dhṛtagati</i> (super Sanskritization)
<i>āvalāti</i>	>	<i>āvalādhi</i>

Even in Sanskrit some aspiration for emphasis is found in words like *prathama* (pra + tama).

Attraction for Sanskrit words naturally resulted in many irregular, analogical forms which are not grammatically correct; but Malayalam accepted these sanctioned by usage.

<i>ahovṛtti</i>	for <i>aharvṛtti</i>
<i>rāṣṭvīyam</i>	for <i>rāṣṭriyam</i>
<i>sāmūhyam</i>	for <i>sāmūhikam</i>
<i>vyāvasāyika</i>	for <i>vaiyavasāyika</i>

A tendency to use the adjective for the abstract noun is found in Malayalam, Tamil etc. Thus *madhuram* is used for *mādhuryam* (sweetness). '*kāppikku madhuram pōrā*' is the normal usage; '*kāppikku mādhuryam pōrā*' seems artificial. Words like *vēgam*, are used as abstract noun, Tamil uses *svatantram* for *Svātantrayam*; in this case Malayalam does not follow Tamil.

<i>sahāyam</i> - 'help'	(for <i>Sāhāyyam</i>)
<i>kṣīṇam</i> -	(for <i>kṣīṇata</i>)
<i>adhyakṣam</i>	(for <i>adhyakṣata</i>)

Smēram in the sense of 'smile'; in Sanskrit, it is an adjective 'smiling'.

madhurasmēram coriṇṇāṇṇane (*Veṇmaṇi*)

<i>vyagram</i>	for <i>vyagrata</i> .
<i>mandam</i>	for <i>mandatā mandam ennniye</i>
<i>viṣamam</i>	for <i>vaiṣamya</i> ; 'difficulty'.

All such words are also used in the strict Sanskrit meaning also.

On the other hand sometimes the abstract noun is used as an adjective.

e.g.

<i>gauravamāyi</i>	<i>cintikkauka</i>
<i>śraddhayāyi</i>	<i>paṭhikkuka</i>
<i>saukaryamāyirunnu</i>	<i>dhyānikkuka</i> .

There are some instances of repeating synonyms either for emphasis or due to ignorance.

<i>alpa svalpam,</i>	'very little' (Gundert)
<i>lavaleśam,</i>	'a bit'

("dayayoru lavales'am pōlum illātta deśam" *Naṭuvattā Acchan Nambutiri*).

8. SANSKRIT IN MODERN MALAYALAM

Modern Malayalam literature allows the use of several Sanskrit words and phrases, besides Sanskrit stems with Malayalam inflections.

a) Indeclinables (used adverbially)

atra	anantaram	iddhāt opam
tatra	anāratam	iddhamodam
iha	anudinam	nirupamam
sadā	pratidinam	muktaśaṅkam
sarvadā	atyantam	niśśaṅkam
vrthā	nirantaram	āvirmoḍam
atha	yathocitam	parasparam
tadā	yathestam	anyonyam
tadānīm	yathāvidhi	sarabhasam
adhunā	sasukham	alaghu
āśu	sasantoṣam	ahorātram
purā	sadayam	santatam
sādaram	satatam	sabhayam
sapadi	sāśaṅkam	samprati
satrapam	sahasā	vī tāsāṅkam
evam	vī tabhayam	iti
jātās' aṅkam	ciram	jātāhlādam
cīrāt	nūnam	jātāmodam
punaḥ	jātaḥarṣam	katham
vī tāyāsam	bata	niṣphalam
hanta	nirākulam	kaṣṭam
śaṅkāhī nam	nānā	unnidram
adya	nirmayādam	jhaṭiti
nistandram		

b) Nouns with declensional suffixes

1. krameṇa	mudā
vegena	kṛpayā
manasā	śaktyā
vācā	sukhena
karmanā	duḥkhena
bhaktyā	balena
2. tava, te	aham
mama, me	tvam
3. mānase	manasi
mūrdhani	samīpe
agre	citte

guhāyām
ādau

kāle

c) Long Sanskrit compounds with Malayalam ending:

- i. *vandanam saṇātanānuṣṇavikasvara-
sundaraprapaṇcādikandamām prabhāvame!* (G)
- ii. *śāntam ambaram nidāghoṣmalasvapnākrāntam
tāntam ārabdhaklesaromantham mama svāntam* (G)
(This is also Sanskrit)
- iii. *ā vātapotaparidhūtasuradrujāta-
sūnotthanirmalasarāgaparāgapāli* (G)
*'avalokippu saṇātanacaṭula-
prāṇaspandanavitatavilāsām'*
*... manuṣya durūhamahāpari-
ṇāhavicitraccaritam'* (N.V.)
*"enikku-rasam atyāsannodayavikāraviplavadr̥ṣyaṇṇaḥ
agādhaḥrdayahradamathanotthitasauṇḍaryapratibhāsaṇṇaḥ
(Itaśśeri)*
*"gānālāpanakalabhūṣaṇakaṇkaṇa-rin̄khaṇa-
navavaśanonmadamarmaranarmaparābhava-
paribhavapar ihāśakaṣāyitaparivāham
ceviyil cuḷi kuttīyaṭaṇṇuparannu-maṭaṇṇunnu
(Kakkāt)*

When the need arose for coining new technical and administrative terms, Malayalam had to depend heavily on the Sanskrit language. This is the case in most of the other Indian languages like Hindi, Bengali, Telugu and Kannada. A sort of uniformity in technical terms could be evolved by using the Sanskrit terms, either already existing or newly coined. Only Tamil, with its limited phonemes, resisted loan-words from Sanskrit, as far as possible.

Pacca Malayalam:

In the first half of the twentieth century there were some writers who made some experiments at writing in pure Malayalam, eschewing all Sanskrit words. Kunnikuttan Thampuran and Kuṇḍur Narayana Menon, who were successful in this attempt, were not purists, but staunch lovers of Sanskrit; Thampuran translated the whole of the *Mahābhārata* within three years and Narayana Menon translated many works of *Kālidāsa* into Malayalam. *Nalla-bhāṣa* by Thampuran gave the lead in this experiment.

"Oru nallāru cērumpōl
Oru nallārum ettināl"

Narayana Menon wrote four poems (*Nālu Bhāṣākāvyaṇṇal*) in this style.

" Pullāṇenikku paṭayālikal nin kaṭakkaṇ-
tallāṇu tēnmoḷi taṭuttituvān ṇerukkam
tellākayāl kaṇiviyannu tuṇakkaṇaṁ nī-
yallāykil āṇṇalakaḷ tan paṇi peṇṇal ceyyum "

Appan Tampurān tried it in prose; the first chapter of his novel *Bhūtarāya* is in this language to some extent. The movement did not take roots in Malayalam, because it was felt that pure Malayalam, eschewing all Sanskrit words, is also an artificial one. Even people in everyday life do use Sanskrit words like *nakham* and *mukham*. And those who successfully made some attempts were also staunch advocates of Sanskrit.

Sanskrit in ordinary colloquial language

Many of the common Sanskrit words, especially the stems, are known to the ordinary people. They do not distinguish between Sanskritic terms and pure Malayalam terms; *nakham* and *mukham* are as familiar as *kaṇṇa* and *mūkkā*. Indeclinables like *sadā*, *anantaram* *yatheṣṭam*, *pratyakṣam*, *sadayam* and *sādaram* are in common usage. Even some words with Sanskrit declensional suffixes like *kramena*, *kāle* etc., not uncommon. So also simple compounds. Compounds mixing Sanskrit and Malayalam like *maṇinādam* *parapuccham*, *aṭisthānam* and *buddhikūrma* (*ta*) are not unfamiliar. Sanskrit is respected by all sections of people and is not considered as a rival to the mothertongue Malayalam.

Sanskrit Tadbhava forms taken directly or through Prakrits and *Pāli* continue to be used, but no new Tadbhava forms are created. Modern Malayalam, both literary and colloquial, does not use Sanskritized indigenous words at all. And as far as Sanskrit Tatsama words are concerned, there is no limit. The late *Mahākavi Vallathol* once remarked that for Malayalam language, Sanskrit is more important than even English.

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COMPUTATIONAL LINGUISTICS AND ITS RELATION TO LINGUISTICS

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1. Introduction

Computational linguistics or natural language processing (NLP) is a field which ought to be naturally close to linguistics. However the association of past two decades shows that results from linguistics have not always been usable by computational linguistics.

Aim of this paper is to look at the goals and methods of computational linguistics and see how they differ from linguistics. It should help us in understanding why results from linguistics have not been usable by work in computational linguistics. Such an understanding can help avoid disappointment, at the very least, when results from one are not applicable to the other. The understanding can also be used to reorient work in linguistics, if we so desire, to make it more applicable to computational linguistics.

We will also look at the two fields regarding relative emphases they place on important questions, and identify the boundaries within which they explore solutions. All this determines the problems that a field addresses and the methodology it uses in solving them. We will also see the differences in terminology in the two fields. When the same term is used differently, sometimes it creates utter confusion in communication.

There are several sub-fields within linguistics, each with its own goals and methods. While comparing computational linguistics with linguistics, we will primarily be focussing on two major sub-fields: Generative Linguistics and, what we call, Analytical Linguistics. The former sub-field which has come to dominate linguistics today is as defined by Chomsky over the years from transformational grammar to Government and Binding (Chomsky (1981)) and Barriers (Chomsky (1986)). Its focus is on universal grammars. It is discussed in detail in Section 3. The term analytical linguistics is used here to refer to that activity in linguistics which is concerned with systematization and cataloging of language phenomena and data. It focusses on studying language phenomena, identification of generalizations and writing of grammars for different languages. Section 5 discusses the issues in more detail. Both these have important contributions to make to computational linguistics.

2. Computational Linguistics: Goals and Motivations

Goal of computational linguistics is to build computational models or theories of natural language (NL) production, comprehension, acquisition etc. Computational linguistics focusses on NL as a means of communication. Accordingly, this aspect is given primary importance while building the theories.

Theories in computational linguistics should be such that they can be used by computers to process NL (where processing might involve production, comprehension etc. of NL sentences). There are several aspects to it. First, the theory should be effective, in other words, one should be able to design procedures that use the theory in performing the desired task. Second, the theory should be precise and detailed. One should be able to take it and build a computer model for it. Third, the theory should be efficient, in other words, its use should not require excessive amount of time or computing resources.

Motivations for work on computational linguistics come from two directions. First, there is the technological motivation of building intelligent computer systems such as machine translation systems, natural language interfaces to databases, man-machine interfaces in general, speech understanding system, text analysis and understanding systems, computer aided instruction, systems that read and understand printed or handwritten text etc. Second, there is a cognitive and linguistic motivation to gain a better insight into how humans communicate using NL.

3. Comparison with Generative Linguistics

There are differences between the goals and methods of computational linguistics and those of generative paradigm in linguistics. An understanding of the differences is necessary if meaningful interaction is to take place between the two disciplines.

Goal of the generative enterprise is to characterize the initial state of knowledge of language ("abstract innate mechanisms") that allows a human child to acquire grammar for a language because of his or her intimate association with a speech community. Since the child is capable of learning any language depending solely on the association, the innate mechanism is independent of any particular language. The focus of research is on universal grammar. This research is pursued to the exclusion of research on background knowledge and other cognitive abilities and factors. In fact Chomsky argues forcefully for the autonomy of syntax, and stresses that the object of language study is grammar and not those components which relate to other cognitive aspects, their relationship with language notwithstanding.

There are two major consequences of the above position that are important to us here. They are described in the next two sections.

3.1 Notion of Grammaticality

In the generative enterprise, language is not studied from the point of view of communication; the emphasis is on the notion of grammaticality, namely,

what native speakers consider to be grammatical. As a result, semantics (assignment of meaning to sentences) and pragmatics (purpose of utterance) take a back seat. According to Shieber (1988), generative linguists are only concerned with three aspects of meaning: theta role assignment, quantifiers and binding and anaphora. Issues relating to word sense disambiguation, structural ambiguity, finding referents of generalized anaphora, relation between modifier-modificand, tense and time, type token distinction, discourse analysis, etc. are ignored. Very little attention is paid to representation of meaning. Where generative linguistics deals with meaning, it is to the extent it impinges on grammaticality.

In contrast to the above, semantics and pragmatics are extremely important to computational linguistics. In fact, it can be said that now its focus has moved from syntax to semantics. All this is a direct result of its goal of modeling language for communication. The technological motivations also require that the meaning or purpose of an utterance be extracted, represented, and used.

3.2 Search for Universals

The emphasis in generative enterprise is not on writing of grammars for any particular language but on the search for universals. Most of the research effort is spent in taking a current set of universals as proposed by Chomsky (such as in Transformational Grammar, Government and Binding) and showing how they work or do not work for various languages. A fairly standard set of language phenomena are taken and the universals posited by the theory are shown to explain them. Dasgupta (1991) argues how several different grammar formalisms can explain the given phenomena, and it is wrong to talk in terms of "the" grammar or universal grammar. It has been argued by Patnaik and his group (see Geetha (1985) and Jain (1990)), that in trying to explain Indian languages by the current set of universals (in GB), several natural notions are not made use of, while unnatural notions are introduced.

The more important practical consequence of the search for universals has been the neglect of writing of grammars. It has even been argued that the goal of generative enterprise is the study of grammars for languages, not the languages themselves. This is in contrast to the requirements of computational linguistics, which requires that grammars for particular languages be written.

3.3 Computational Grammar

In spite of all the differences in goals and assumptions between generative linguistics and computational linguistics, there is agreement regarding precision in method and use of formal theory. In either of the two fields, sentences can be derived by applying the grammar rules mechanically. In this, they both differ from earlier grammars like pedagogical grammars which were non-formal and were to be used by a human being possibly a language learner.

The above is a major similarity in methods between generative linguistics and computational linguistics. The difference which is minor compared to the

similarity, is regarding computational nature of the formal theories. Usually, generative grammar for a language does not pay attention to the actual processing of sentences using the theory. As a result, theories developed in generative linguistics can often not be taken and computed with. Thus, besides being formal and precise, the theories must also be computational. The issues of effectiveness and efficiency pertaining to computation have already been mentioned earlier.

3.4 Engineering Linguistics

Besides the differences regarding notion of grammaticality, search for universals, and computational aspects there is a very major difference in the practise of generative linguistics and computational linguistics. This difference can be termed as 'Engineering linguistics' (Bharati et al., 1990c).

Computational linguistics has a large number of direct applications. The theory developed in computational linguistics is used for building computer systems that process (e.g., understand, generate, acquire) NL. This brings about an extensive network that is constantly testing theories and providing feedback. Contrast this with generative linguistics which has no direct application (unlike other sub-disciplines of linguistics like socio-linguistics, pedagogical grammars, etc.)

Building systems introduces its own requirements, which affect among other things the theory used in building them. First, a working system requires complete detail, nothing can be waived or wished away. This serves to test the theory thoroughly because difficult problems sometimes relegated to details confront us when we try to build a system. Examples of such details often left unspecified in linguistic theories are choice of features, a detailed lexicon, world knowledge, etc.

A system forces us to deal with problems which might have been set aside by the field to be dealt with later. (Here, a field recognizes the problem to be difficult, but decides to postpone looking at it. In the previous paragraph, a field calls a difficult problem as detail, and pushes it to the background.) For example, a system for question answering will have to deal with pragmatics, it cannot chose to deal with syntax or semantics alone. Similarly, such a system may be forced to deal with sentence as well as discourse. Crossing the level boundaries and dealing with hitherto ignored problems produces new ways of segmenting the problem. At times, it produces adhoc solutions. They are all precursors to a new theory.

On the other hand, there are occasions when a well developed theory is bypassed in a system because the phenomenon being explained by the theory is not of much interest. For example, most machine translation systems bypass morphology (by doing table lookup on endings) because derivation of word meaning is not very important there, at the present state of development.

The 80-20 rule also comes into the picture when one tries to have a "reasonable" grammar for a system. This rule states that 20 percent of the

grammar covers 80 percent of the language. When one starts with a grammar for 80 percent language and tries to cover the remaining 20 percent of language, a several fold increase in grammar size takes place. This happens with the best of theories. It is a reminder that the world is not as ordered as the theories would like them to be.

Even in the best of domains like physics, when a kernel theory which is simple, elegant and universal (e.g., Newtonian mechanics) is put to real life problems, it results in development of a large body of knowledge called engineering theory. This knowledge deals with special situations, uses approximations, incorporates standards, and identifies methodologies for practice of the theory. It should come as no surprise therefore, if in a complex domain such as NL, the application of a theory might lead to even a major modification of the theory itself. For example, when the system being built is large and complex as most NLP systems are, it has implications for theory as well as methodology.

Modularity is a desirable property of large systems. It implies that the system can be divided into several parts in such a manner that the interaction between parts is minimal and clearly specified. This is very important, for example, when large numbers of people are to work as a team in developing the system. The implication for the grammar model is that it should be such that several people can work cooperatively in writing a grammar in it.

Extensibility is one of the most important desirable properties of a large system. It means that the system can be extended or changed bit by bit. There are two reasons. First, a large real life system has to keep changing to satisfy changing requirements. It will soon become useless if the system cannot be modified. Second and more importantly, large systems are not built as finished systems in first shot. They are built in stages from simple to complex. Such a phased construction is possible only if the system built in each phase is extensible.

Extensibility applied to grammars means that when the lexicon is augmented or a new language phenomenon is sought to be covered, it does not lead to extensive rewriting of the grammar.

A system will invariably be faced with situations in which it will fail to perform the tasks it has been designed for. Dealing with failures, therefore, must be part of system design. There are several aspects to it. When a system detects that it cannot deal with the NL related task, it must communicate it to the user. The user can then rephrase his request in another manner which the system might be able to handle. Such communications also serves to educate the user about the limitations of the system, so that in future, he might learn to avoid them. The latter implies that for the system to appear friendly, it might be better to avoid handling those NL phenomena for which there are no adequate solutions. Otherwise it will be difficult for the user to keep track of the limitations.

The system must also provide sufficient feedback to the system designers (which includes the grammar writers) regarding its failures. It can help them

detect problems in their design (in procedures or grammars) and thus help fix them (or debug them), if possible. Experience with building large systems indicates that debugging is an important activity both while building the system and after it starts getting used. This implies for the grammar and grammar writing, that the grammar should be so designed that errors and problems can be identified easily. Specialized programming tools are usually necessary to assist in debugging (Srinivas, 1991).

Graceful degradation is another desirable property of large systems. When the user requests tasks that approach the limits of the capabilities of the system, the deterioration in system response should be slow. In other words, when a request is given that the system cannot handle properly, it must still respond with partial information; and when more difficult requests are made, the answer gets progressively worse.

Finally the system should be tolerant of user errors. In case of NL interfaces (where NL is being used to facilitate communication with the computer), such errors might pertain to spellings, sentence constructions, agreement rules etc. Correction by the system should be implicit without prompting it to the user. Other kinds of errors pertaining to misconceptions ought to be detected and corrected explicitly.

3.5 Benefits to Generative Linguistics

Work on computational models can bring immense benefits to theory-making in generative linguistics. Computers can be used to simulate existing theories in generative linguistics. This can be used to test them against large amounts of data such as corpora of sentences. Once a theory has been implemented on the computer, it is relatively easy to try out changes and new variations. It is also possible to test the theory against data for several languages. Thus, the machine makes it possible for the first time to do realistic, large scale experiments with linguistic theories (Hausser, 1989).

4. Some Differences in Terminology

When the same term are used differently by two fields, it creates problems in inter-communication between them. There are several examples of such differences between linguistics and computational linguistics.

One example, namely 'anaphora', has already been mentioned earlier. In generative linguistics 'anaphora' refers to primarily reflexives and reciprocals, whereas in computational linguistics it also refers to general pronouns, definite noun phrases, etc. Thus, anaphora resolution in generative linguistics means finding the antecedent of reflexives and reciprocals in a sentence; whereas in computational linguistics it means finding referents of reflexives, reciprocals, pronouns, definite noun phrases, etc. in a discourse which may consist of more than a single sentence. For example, the phrase "the boy with a green cap" will be called an anaphor in computational linguistics and finding its referent involves discourse analysis to identify the unique individual that is referred to by the

phrase. (Note that the referent not only depends on the preceding discourse but also on whether the identification is being done for the speaker of the listener.)

Our feeling is that the above difference is a consequence of the current scope of generative linguistics in dealing only with isolated sentences as opposed to discourse.

According to Shieber (1988), the confusion in terminology is more fundamental than just a term here or a term there. There are systematic differences in meanings of terms where even levels are mixed. Fig. 1 shows terms used in generative linguistics as compared to other disciplines (Shieber (1988)).

<i>Generative Linguistics</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Other Disciplines</i>	<i>Physics Example</i>
theory* (principles)	universals	meta-theory	space-time are continuous
formalism	grammar formalism (GB)	formalism	mathematical apparatus (calculus)
analysis	Grammar for Hindi (GB grammar parametrized for Hindi)	theory*	Newton's laws of motion
real life of problem	analysis of a sentence	real life problem	trajectory a thrown ball

*focus of research

Fig. 1: Use of some terms in generative linguistics

The term "theory" is used differently in generative linguistics and computational linguistics. What is called theory in generative linguistics, would be called meta-theory in computational linguistics and other disciplines. (Meta-theoretical questions are often relegated to background in other disciplines with little or no discussion taking place on them.) On the other hand what is called theory in computational linguistics (e.g., a computational grammar for Telugu) would be called as analysis by generative linguistics. Clearly, workers from the two fields must be made aware of this important difference in meaning.

In a well established field, most important body of its knowledge is at level 3 (theory). For example in classical physics, the Newton's laws of motion are at level 3. Formalism is fairly standard, and once established is seldom worked upon. Level 1 is rarely discussed, if ever. One can see a similar situation with quantum physics.

Now if generative linguistics is well established as a discipline, its focus of research should move to level 3 in preparing detailed grammars for particular languages.

5. Analytical Linguistics

Considering the above differences, one might conclude that computational linguistics must proceed independently of linguistics. However, an independent effort would be wasteful and self defeating. Linguistics has a large amount of useful information collected in the form of precise rules. The only problem is that this information is often wrapped up in formidable packaging. So this packaging needs to be unwrapped (Nirenberg (1987)). According to Shieber (1988) it is from level 3 in Fig. 1, we should expect the greatest benefit to computational linguistics. One should be able to take the grammar for particular languages and obtain the rules without necessarily borrowing the grammar formalism. This activity comes under what we had termed as analytical linguistics. The rules can then be expressed in a suitable computational formalism.

When we consider Indian languages, we find a great paucity of well organized language data. In contrast, for English a wealth of data is available in the form of lexicons, dictionaries, corpora of various kinds. Much of this data has been available for several decades, even before the generative paradigm took roots. In fact, it can be argued that it is important to prepare "theory" free language data/knowledge base. No data is really theory free. What we mean by the term here is that data which would be needed by any of the modern grammar formalisms. Such data would assume the basic lexical categories, basic set of syntactic features, but little else. Whatever data of this kind is available for Indian languages is buried in descriptive grammars. Such data should be prepared with computation in mind, and specifically for the task of parsing or meaning representation. The major issue in the above task is resolving ambiguity.

Some of the "theory" free data can be generated afresh. But hopefully a large amount would come from descriptive grammars. This does not mean, however, that data would be directly available. Effort will have to be put in sifting through the descriptive grammars, picking up data and suitably presenting it so that it can be incorporated in actual computational grammars. This sifting would be a major activity in analytical linguistics.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have tried to identify the differences between goals and methods of computational linguistics and linguistics. Such an understanding is necessary if we want to bring the two fields closer together. Finally, there is a great need for analytical linguistic work, particularly for Indian languages.

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CASE IN GOJRI

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According to 1961 Census, Gojri is spoken by 3,30,485 people in Jammu and Kashmir and besides by Gujjar nomads in Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Pakistan ruled Kashmir. This is an Indo-Aryan language and according to Grierson it is closely connected with the Mewati dialect of Rajasthan. This study is based on the data collected from Suran Valley areas of Poonch district.

Cases mark the relationship between the nominal and verbal part of the sentence. Since all languages have nominal and verbal forms there has to be case functions in all the languages, but there is no agreement of scholars as to the notion of case. One view holds case as the relation of nominal with the predicate and other view considers the relationship of nominal with other word categories. Panini and Fillmore are of the first view and Guru and other structuralists are of the second view. Guru could accommodate genitive as case relation but for Panini it was not. In languages case relationship is realised either overtly by inflection suffixes, preposition and post positions or covertly without any case form, word order denoting the case relationships. There is hardly any one to one correspondence between case functions and case form as may be seen from Panini's distinction of *Kārkās* and *Vibhakti*. One *Vibhakti* in Sanskrit could be used for more than one case function or vice versa. In Gojri also we find one case is realised with more than one case marker and also a single case marker used in more than one case. Before we describe the case relations the Gojri nominal form is worth mentioning.

Gojri nominals (nouns, pronouns etc.) mainly have direct, oblique, vocative (only nouns) forms in two numbers; singular and plural. All the oblique forms of nominals can take post positions, except first and second person pronouns which have direct, ergative and oblique forms. Oblique forms of first and second person pronouns take genitive, inflected further for gender, number and oblique forms. Many post positions occur with the first and second person pronoun which already has genitive {-r-} in oblique form. In all the nominals {ā} is used for the oblique plural form irrespective of the gender and Ø and {a} suffixes are used for singular oblique form; {a} occurs in place of the masculine singular {o} of the direct form and in other nouns the form in oblique singular remains the same as in direct. In the language case relations are shown both by direct forms and as well as by oblique forms followed by post position.

A few examples of direct form used in various cases

Forms in its direct form denote the surface structure subject as well as object and also show various case relationships such as agentive, objective, locative, e.g.

Agent	<i>koro dorE</i> <i>hũ tlnna dekhũ</i> <i>gã cãrE</i>	'Horse runs' I see you The cow grazes
Objective	<i>mĒ lãtero pãgryo</i> <i>Us nE kãm kIyo</i> <i>gera nE tũ ni dekhyo</i> <i>mewo tãttho</i> <i>gero tãttho</i>	I caught the robber He did the work Boy did not see you 'The fruit fell' 'The boy fell'
Experiencer	<i>gero kabãr geyo</i>	The boy got afraid

Instrument *wopãkherũ na pãtthar marE* 'He hits the birds with the stone'.

Locative *wo buã ri chã sutto E* 'He is sleeping under the shadow of the tree'.

Time *Sawãn ayo* 'The month of Sawan came'.

1. Agentive:

Agentive case denotes the actual performer of the action or which controls the action. The nominals are obligatorily animate for this case and the verbal form will be constituted of either motion verbs or transitive verbs. This case may be denoted by the direct form of the nominal as well as by the oblique forms of the nominal followed by *nE ~ ñE*, *na ~ ña*, *dhũ*, *koũ*. *nE ~ ñE* postposition occur after oblique form of nominals when the verb is transitive inflected for perfective participle and the agentive occurs as subject. Examples are:

<i>gera nE kãm kIyo</i>	'The boy did the work'
<i>Us nE hũ balayo ;</i>	'He called me'
<i>hãm ñE gero maryo</i>	'We beat the boy'

Besides ergative form of the first and second person pronoun singular are used for agentive case relation in the same way as above: example are;

<i>mĒ tũro khado</i>	I ate the bread
<i>mĒ tũ balayo</i>	I called you
<i>tĒ kãm KIyo</i>	You did the work

The other postpositions occur in certain other verbal inflections and constructions.

{*na ~ na*} is used with the infinitival predicate. A few examples are:

MInna jaṇo E

'I have to go'

gera na kām kārṇo E

'The boy has to work'

Agentive is also realised by {*ḍū*} and {*koḷū*} postpositions in passive constructions of transitive verb in which the object shows the concordance with the verb. (*ḍū*) occurs with the passive construction of single object of transitive verb and {*koḷū*} occurs with the ditransitive verb in which there has to be a beneficiary i.e., in dative case. Examples are;

mera ḍū roṭi khadi gai

'The bread was eaten by me'

Us ḍū katab pāri jyE

'The book is read by him'

Sārkar koḷū goribāna pEsa dItta jyē

'The money is given to the poor by the government'

In the last sentence it is the source agent. Besides in the causative sentences there are more than one agent at the surface level and thus causative sentences are complex sentences in the language. At the most there can be three agents realised as Instigator (one of these is always the subject at the surface level) occurring in the direct form of the nominal or with {*nE ~ nE*} postposition if perfective and the real agent is realised by {*na ~ na*} postpositions in both direct as well as indirect causative sentences. The intermediate agent occurring only in the indirect causative sentences and realised by {*koḷū*} postposition and this postposition also occurs in case of real agent of the direct causative of ditransitive verb. Examples are:

wo mInna par cākawE

'He causes me to carry the load'

wo mInna tera koḷū par cākwawE

'He causes you to make me carry the load'

hū sayra koḷū resma na katab dāwaŪ

'I cause Sayra to give book to Resma'

2. Comitative:

This relationship is very much similar to the agentive relationship with the verbs as far as the performance of the action is concerned, but the nominal form in this case is subordinate to the agentive occurring as subject. In the language this case is realised with {*na!*} or {*sāng*} postpositions after the human nouns. In the language the focus is on the agentive subject but more social prestige is denoted by the nominal occurring with Comitative relationship.

Examples are:

wo mera naḷ bEṭho tho
 'He was sitting with me'
gero geri naḷ ayo
 'The boy came with the girl'
hū gera sāng geyo
 'I went with the boy'
geri gera naḷ jId kārE
 'The girl quarrels with the boy'
fEz nE Sayra naḷ bya kIyo
 'Faiz married Sayra'

These sentences cannot be equated with the sentences such as in which two nominals have equal status where conjunction is possible. For example in the following sentences the order of nouns can be changed without any change in meaning and the last one is ambiguous also.

<i>wo dE hū bEṭha tha</i>	'He and I were sitting'
<i>geri dE gera jId kārē</i>	'Boy and girl quarrel'
<i>fEz dE Sayra nE bya kIyo</i>	'Faiz and Sayra married'

3. Objective

When in the construction, a particular thing is desired/produced/ received by the agent of the action or the result of the action or on whom the action takes place, that is the object and the relationship is the objective. In the Gojri language this relation may be shown by the direct form of the noun as well as by the oblique forms of nominal followed by {*na ~ ṇa*} postposition. This postposition occurs with the animate nouns and in non perfective participle form of the transitive verb. The sentences with the agentive as well as objective case relation will have obligatorily transitive verbs. In the transitive as well as ditransitive sentences it will always occur as direct object. Objective occurring as subject will always be in direct form of the nominals and, in that case, animate nouns will show the patient relationship. Objective of transitive verbs in perfective participle verbal form will also be always in direct form. Examples are:

<i>hām tām ṇa dekhā</i>	'We see you'
<i>wo pākherŪ na mar reyo E</i>	
'He is killing the bird'	
<i>us gera na bālao</i>	'Call that boy'
<i>pāṭṭar truā buṭā naṭū tE geya ē</i>	
'The leaves have fallen from three trees'	

4. Instrument:

Instrument denotes the means to do the action by the agent. In the case of instrument there is always the agent which may be deleted at the surface level of the construction. This case is mostly marked by {*naḷ*} postposition and it is also optionally deleted so marked by direct form with some verbs. This {*naḷ*} would always occur with the inanimate nouns and the verbs will mostly be transitive. It also takes object obligatorily. Examples are:

mĒ yɔ sar cakū naḷkutryo
 'I cut this vegetable with the knife'
həm ɳE Us ro pai sətinaḷmaryo
 'we beat his brother with stick'
wo pəkhñū na pəthəṛ marE ləgo wo
 'He is hitting the bird with stone'

But the conveyance used to reach the goal or place in the motion verbs which are intransitive also denotes the instrumental because conveyance or passage is the means to complete the action of reaching a place or destination. And with such verbs this case is realised by {*ma*} postposition. Examples are:

həm gəḍḍi ma aya 'We came by bus'
wo wai jajma pəcyo 'He reached by air'.

Instrumental case also denotes the reason or cause of the result of the action as this cause relation does not contrast with the instrument of means. This relation is marked by {*dū*} and {*naḷ*} occurring after the inanimate as well as animate nominals and other case relations occurring with these intransitive verbs are experiencer or objective. Examples are:

[IOV] *meri wəja naḷ koḷ tho* 'The fight was due to me'
 [IOVi] *pəkəm rE naḷ koḥa tE geya*
 'Houses collapsed due to earthquake'
 [IOVi] *təfan naḷ kIsū dūb gāi* 'The boats drowned due to storm'
 [IOVi] *nokəri wəja dū təkliḥ ho gə*
 'There was trouble because of the servant'

It could also have the experiencer case in the above sentences.

[IOVi] *nokəri wəja dū mInna təkliḥ ho gəi*
 I had trouble because of the servant'

5. Experiencer:

It is the case of the animate noun denoting the mental or physical state in relation to the predicate. This always occurs as subject in the language and the other nominal with this case will be the complement in the sentence.

Experiencer case is marked by case suffixes {na} and {ma} occurring after the animate nouns or parts of the body.

mera khābba pas na dārd E
 'I have pain in my left side'
Us ra sIr na dārd E
 'He has headache'
mera peṭ ma har a gāi
 'There is pain in my stomach'
tInna pāto E 'You know'

Experiencer can also take object with certain verbs/ *lor/* 'want'/ *mIl/*: meet'
 For example;

us na kuj rapāla lorē 'He wants some money'

6. Possessive:

In this language the, nominal has possessive relation with the predicate. There are two kinds of possession, inalienable and alienable marked by different postpositions.

i) Inalienable possession is that which cannot be exchanged and which refers sometimes to the quality of the noun which possesses. The possessor is always animate nominal and occurs with {na} postposition and the possessed noun is in object relation and occurs as complement of the predicate. These objects are either body parts or kinship nouns. Examples are:

dand na do sIng wē 'The bullock has two horns'
mInna ek gero E 'I have a son'
Us na ṭabri ni 'He does not have wife'

When it mentions about the property of an inanimate noun, this relation is realised by {ma} postposition and it overlaps with the locative relation.

am ma ṛrik wE 'There is a stone in the mango'

ii) Alienable possession is the possession of a thing which can be exchanged or sold. Nominal possessors are always human and will occur with {koḷ} or {koḷE} postposition and here also the possessed noun will occur as object complement and can be inanimate as well as animate. Examples are:

mera koḷ kotho ni 'I donot have a house'
Us koḷ jīwi E 'He has land'
mera koḷ/koḷE dand E 'I have a bullock'
fEz koḷ/koḷE ek mEs thi 'Faiz had a buffalo'

iii) Besides possession is also marked by genitive postposition {r ~ n ~ r} occurring after the oblique form of the nominals which possess and agree in gender number-case form of the following noun which is possessed at the surface level. Examples are:

<i>mero kār</i>	'my house'
<i>teri jī wi</i>	'your land'
<i>apno kām</i>	'own work'
<i>usro pai</i>	'his brother'
<i>fāzal ri haṭṭi</i>	'Fazal's shop'

7. Dative:

When there is the advantage or disadvantage of the result of the action performed, then the nominal which is the recipient of the result will be in the dative case. This case is denoted by postpositions such as {na} and {wastE} which always occur after the animate nominals. The nominals with this case always occur as indirect object in the sentence with a ditransitive verb. The occurrence of {na} and {wastE} is in complementation and occur depending on the verbs. The verbs which take {wastE} can also take the ablative case. This case with {wastE} postposition gives the subsense of purposive, but does not contrast with the nominals of {na} postposition. This case obligatorily occurs with objective case. Examples are:

1. As the case of beneficiary:

<i>hū tlnna mok dyūgo</i>	'I shall give maize to you'
<i>sārkar koḷū gāribāna pĒsa dlta geya</i>	
'The money was given to the poor by the government'	

2. In the sense of purposive:

<i>yā kār mera waste E</i>	'This house is for me'
<i>ya katab pāmaḷā waste E</i>	'This book is for the student'
<i>mē apni ṭabri waste nāwo geṇo llyo/khārldyo</i>	
'I bought/took the new ornament for my wife'	

8. Ablative:

This is primarily the case of dissociation or separation of something from the source for the fulfilment of the action. This case can occur with motion verbs, intransitive and ditransitive verbs. With the motion and ditransitive verbs, the agent occurs obligatorily, but with the intransitive verbs the subject will be in the objective case. In the language, there is a case suffix {ū} as an alternant of {ā} which occurs only optionally after place nouns ending in consonants. This {ū} can occur after many postpositions such as in *naḷū*, *koḷū*, *heṭhū*, *woṇū*, and all these denote the ablative case.

1. {*ũ* ~ *dũ*} with motion verbs in which agent is obligatory and here it is the source-ablative. Eg.,

wo kərũ ayo 'He came from home'
wo kər dũ ayo səkul dũ ja 'Go from the school'
hũ grā dũ paḷək muṛũgo
 'I shall return from village tomorrow'.

2. {*naḷũ*} after inanimate nouns with intransitive verb of objective case. Eg.,

pəttər trUā buṭā naḷũ tE geya
 'Leaves fall from three trees'

3. {*koḷũ*} after human nouns in the sense of source of departure of something. The verb will be transitive and the agent and object are obligatory. eg.,

wo ya kətab Us koḷũ layo
 'He brought this book from him'

4. {*wəṛũ*} has the same distribution as {*dũ*} with some nominals, but in certain cases, it cooccurs after those nouns which have raised dimension above the earth. Eg.,

wo dəkan wəṛũ ayo 'He came from the shop'
baṛ wəṛũ chaḷ mar 'Jump over the fence'

This is also used in the meaning of path 'sense with or without any postposition and with some nominals {*blccu*} occurs. Eg.,

həm Is šərk blccũ aya 'We came through this road'
həm Is ra aya 'We came by this way'

It is also marked by {*dur*} or {*bar*} adverbials occurring after {*dũ*} postposition which occurs after the nominal denoting source also. Eg.,

wo xətra dũ dur E 'He is away from the danger'

9. Locative:

It is the case of the place where the event or action is performed or which forms the base i.e., where something happens. This case is primarily denoted by the postpositions of location such as {*wər*} 'on' {*ma*} 'in' {*heṭh*} 'below'. And location sometimes also denotes goal.

Besides, this is also denoted by the direct form of the nouns of place as well as their oblique form with the locative case suffix {*E*}. This suffix also occurs

with some of the postpositions to denote the locative relationship and may or may not be followed by other postpositions. Eg.,

<i>mera put kære ē</i>	'My sons are at home'
<i>hū Unā gerā koE geyo</i>	'I went to those boys'

Locative case can be realised with and without {ma} postposition. Nouns occurring optionally without {ma} can also take postposition {ma}, but locative which occur with {ma} cannot occur without {ma}.

<i>sakul a</i>	'Come to the school'
<i>sakul ma a</i>	'Come to the school'
<i>wo apna, khet ma calē jyE tho</i>	'He was going to his field'
<i>In dabā ma bāro pañi ē</i>	'There is lot of water in these ponds'
<i>jī wi ma ao</i>	'Come to the field'
<i>nIkka bar ma awē ē</i>	'The children come in the garden'

{wār} also has the same function as {ma} except that the location nouns may be different with which it occurs.

<i>bāne wār bEs</i>	'Sit on the ground'
<i>wo paṛ wār bxgeyo</i>	'He reached on the mountain'
<i>hū kapi wār llkhū</i>	'I write on the note book'

With certain nominals {wār}/{ma} can occur fully without any difference in meaning and with certain nominals both will convey different meanings. Eg.,

<i>tārti wār/ma bEs</i>	'Sit on the ground'
<i>hū koṛa na dārya wār le jāū</i>	'I take the horse on the river'
<i>hū koṛa na dārya ma le jāū</i>	'I take the horse in the river'.

but when we use {wār} or {ma} in the following sentence, the meaning will be different. Eg.,

<i>hū koṛa na dārya wār le jāū</i>	'I take the horse to the river {near the river}'
<i>hū koṛa na dārya ma le jāū</i>	'I take the horse in the river' (for giving him bath)

{rE} followed by {naḷ} also denote the locative case as in

<i>kIsti dāṇḍa rE naḷ bāddiwi E</i>	'The boat is tied with the stick'
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{nere ~ koE} denotes the loction of proximity and the other nominal will be agentive or objective occurring as subject.

<i>Us ro kār mēra koḷE E</i>	'His house is near mine'
<i>wo ḡg rē nērē bēḥo</i>	'He sat near the fire'

{*koḷ*} & {*koḷE*} denote the goal also and occur after the animate noun. These have the agent occurring as subject if the verb is motion verb.

<i>geri gera koḷ ḡi</i>	'The girl went to the boy'
<i>geri gera koḷ E ḡi</i>	'The girl went to the boy'
<i>hū Unā gerā koḷE geyo</i>	'I went to those boys'

Location of direction which doesnot occur in contrast with locative proper as well as location of goal is treated as the case of location and to mark this, {*dār*} and {*torī*} postpositions occur after the animate/inanimate nominals which indicate the case, {*torī*} only occurs in motion verbs whereas {*dār*} can occur with intransitive verb and other nominal occurring will be in the agentive case relationship and function as syntactic subject. Eg.,

<i>hū us gera dār cālyo</i>	'I am going towards that boy'
<i>sadiq fEz dār cālyo</i>	'Sadiq is going to Faiz'
<i>wo meradār ayo</i>	'He came toward me'
<i>kutto bIllī dār pokE</i>	'Dog barks at the cat'

10. Time:

This case is marked by the nouns of time in direct form or oblique form followed by the postposition. These two sub-types of Time relation i.e., instantive and duration. Eg.,

Following nominals show instative time relation--

<i>hUn rat pE ḡi</i>	'The night has fallen now'
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{*dū*} postposition can also occur in instantive time case relationship.

<i>mānglar ri ḡddi rat dū ḡḡṭā ne</i>	
<i>kām kāmō chor dltto</i>	
'From Tuesday midnight the buses stopped running'	
<i>hū car bāḡā dū plcchE ayo</i>	'I came after 4'oclock.'
<i>wo sātṭā tEṛā dū plcchE geyo</i>	'He went after seven days'

{*ma*} postposition can also occur in Time case relationship and is always used for duration case relation.

<i>ek kātāa ao</i>	'Come within an hour'
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Cases of subject

Nominal phrase directly dominated by the sentence node is termed as subject and animate as well as inanimate nouns can occur as subjects. Nominal

phrase occurring as grammatical subject can occur in its direct form as well as with various postpositions. The subject in its direct form always shows the concordance with the verbal phrase of the predicates. In the language subject may denote the case relationship such as Agentive, Objective, Experiencer, Dative and time.

Agentive:	gero, geyo hũ jāũ ā gera kām kārē Us ne buṭo kəpyo mInna jāno lorE meradũ jān ni hoto jāna dũ kām klyo jyē	'The boy went' 'I go' 'The boys do work' 'He cut the tree' 'I want to go' 'I cannot go' 'The work is done by the persons'
Objective:	katab bāne re heḥ E mewo ṭaṭtho toto pInjra ma ē hũ Us rE koḷE ũ wo mare geyo gero ṭaṭtho	'The book is under the table' 'The fruit fell' 'The bird is in the cage' 'I am near him' 'He was killed' 'The boy fell'
Experiencer:	Us na slr dārd ē hũ kabār geyo mes sui ē	'He has head ache' 'I got confused' 'The buffalo has become new milk'/given birth
Dative:	Us na kuj rāpāIya iābba mInna ek pai E dand na do sing wē	'He got some money' 'I have one brother' 'This bullock has two horns'
Time	rat pE gāi	'The night fell'

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Book Review

KHUBCHANDANI, Lachman M:

Tribal Identity: A Language & Communication Perspective

Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi 1992. Pp xii + 159; cloth bound with dust cover; Price Rs. 150/-)

Chapter 1 surveys the background of the perception, descriptive terminology and classificatory schemes adopted for the tribal identity in India and of change and continuity through 1962-1982. Language has been used as the index and indicator for these changes. The author aims at a "grassroots' understanding... which can be utilised as significant inputs in evolving a tribal policy of the country" (p 9). Chapters 2 and 3 are largely statistical; the author concludes that "the enormous diversity prevailing among tribal groups is not *merely* the result of an isolated existence ... but it is grown out of a highly 'functional' plural ethos..." (p 34, *italics* supplied):

In Chapter 4, to be read with Appendix C, the author develops a "vitality index" for languages. He does not detail the mathematical derivation; it seems to be the percentage of the ratio of the number of speakers of 'a' tribal language to the "strength of the tribe bearing the same/similar name" (note in App.C, p 128), at a specific Census, eg., 1971; viz.,

$$\text{Vitality index of Language 'L'} = \frac{\text{Number of speakers of 'L' in 1971 Census}}{\text{Number of people belonging to the tribe of the same/similar name}} \times 100$$

Clarity of understanding is not helped by using the undefined term "language retention rate" as synonymous with the "vitality index", p 45. Though the table (Appen. C) mentions the 1981 Census, it is not clear whether a dynamic element is introduced by making the latter figures the basis of the numerator or the denominator or to derive comparatively static data for each of several Censuses. The notation, "@", in column 3 in App.C remains unexplained. A typical example of mathematics being used to obfuscate rather than to elucidate!

Where the "functional load" on a language is limited to the home environment, it serves "primarily as a mark of group identity" but is subject to the pressures of assimilation from regional languages. Conversely, languages "marked by a greater intensity of functions, qualifying for the role of 'contact' languages" are typical of those spoken by a larger number of persons than those claiming it as their mother tongues, likely to be immune from assimilation. The author describes a spectrum:

Strong tendency to maintain tribal language identity: a distinction is drawn between

retention of "ancestral mother tongue" in Manipur, Meghalaya and A&N Islands and "claiming their distinct mother tongue" (in Assam, etc.);

Co-existence of non-tribal mother tongue and the "ancestral language" (= "ancestral mother tongue"?) in W. Bengal;

Tendency to shift "ancestral tribal mother tongue" (same as the "ancestral" mother tongue of a tribal community?) in favour of non-tribal language noticed in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, etc.;

"Least resistance by tribal languages" (sic! p 48) in favour of dominant languages, eg., in Southern States, UP etc.;

No resistance, all tribal speakers adopting a variety of the regional language as in Karnataka and the Lakshadweep - (could this be because the regional language is their "ancestral mother tongue", as Malayalam is, in the latter case?).

The next Chapter, on Bilingualism, contains a penetrative analysis of the Censuses. "Configurations" with Hindi, Halabi, Oriya, Marathi, and Telugu were noticed in the Central and southern regions, and with Bengali, Assamese, Hindi and English in the north east. Bhils used Hindi, Gujerathi, Marathi and/or Khandeshi; Mundas, Assamese, Oriya and/or Hindi (p 59). Bilingualism with English was closely correlated with educational level. Male/female differentials show high temporal shifts; in '71 and among some communities, more females claimed regional language preference. In 1971, Hindi bilingualism was widespread in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar; prominent among the corresponding tribal communities were Gonds and Kurukh speakers. The author ends this chapter partly philosophically - "Some.. contradictory responses... lead to question the setting up of objective criteria to size up the 'real' vs the 'apparent' reality in human behaviour" - and partly pragmatically - "An extensive survey ..could..provide...insights in resolving the language controversy..." (p 67).

In the next Chapter, the treatment of "Tribal Identity" is based on the assertion that "many individuals ... show their anxiety to attain prestige by identifying with a dominant language of the region and not ... with one's ancestral speech..." (p 68). The "central belt", prominent among whom are the Gonds and the Oraons accounting for the largest population of speakers of Dravidian tribal languages, is found susceptible to shift to Chhatisgarhi, etc. "This region is marked by fluid language boundaries defined on the basis of identity imperatives and *not* on the criteria of historical branching of grammatical features" (*emphasis in the original*). In Jharkhand, the author describes a "grassroots Aryanisation" represented by the adoption of lingua franca like Nagpuria with an Indo-Aryan base.

High variations in the shift in mother tongue declarations have been highlighted. Two types of tribal communities are described:

Homogeneous tribes are defined as comprising of "groups claiming overwhelming allegiance (above 80%) to one mother tongue; even though not explicitly so stated, it appears that this group can be subdivided into "those affiliated with ancestral mother tongue" and those who have "switched to the (= 'a'?) non-tribal mother tongue"; the author uses the term "ancestral homogeneous tribe" presumably for this group.

Composite tribes, viz., "groups segmented (such that)... at least 20% members claim

different mother tongues, of whom some (subgroup "a") may share two or more tribal languages as mother tongues, and some (subgroup "b") may share assimilatory trends towards non-tribal languages. Subgroup "b" is further subdivided into a set the majority of whose claims favour maintaining the ancestral mother tongue, and a set the major claims of which favour shift to the (= 'a') non-tribal mother tongue. (p 75).

The designations for these categories seem to be "assimilated homogeneous groups, composite multitribal groups, composite groups" respectively. It would have been helpful if the definitions were consistently applied. A similar vagueness attaches to the statistical data which follow: for example, the recitation (p 75):

"As per the 1961 MT claims, a large number of **ancestral homogeneous** tribes are found in the North-east (sic!), as enumerated below (**emphasis in the original**):

.....

 Madhya Pradesh: Oraon (Kurukh MT) 89, Kamar 91 per cent"

may mean that "in Madhya Pradesh, among the Oraon, 89% 'affiliate themselves to', ie., claim, Kurukh which is their ancestral mother tongue; 91 % of the Kamar do likewise with 'a' mother tongue, which is 'the' ancestral mother tongue for them". This reviewer is not quite certain that this *is* in fact the meaning intended by the author! (There is an incidental minor confusion in that Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Lakshadweep, among many others, *are* listed under the sub- heading, "North-east")!

The author points out that the Constitutional provision in Article 350 A (right to education in the mother tongue at the primary stage for linguistic minority groups) has not been implemented. Many tribal "vernaculars" have been neglected as they do not feature as 'separate languages' in the official records. Even in the case of the Kurukh and Gondi, "In Bihar, textbooks are prepared in ... Kurukh ..., but the state authorities have not shown great enthusiasm as far as ... implementation is concerned. Madhya Pradesh Tribal Research Bureau ... initiated a few text books in Gondi, ... but the implementation in school education is somewhat staggered" (p 83).

The concluding Chapters (from VII) contain useful surveys of literature on "Language Areas", *Sprachbund*, interface between tribal cultures and non-tribal including missionary intrusions, etc. He comments on the *adivasi vedana* ("tribal pathos") as a complex of gradual sanskritisation, "missionarisation", indeginisation and modernisation, in the light of which he reviews the relationship between the State and the tribal communities. He proposes that "the heterogeneity of tribal regions can be better understood in the context of *kshetra*, a.. concept focussing on the patterns of organic unity ... in the midst of ... linguistic and cultural variation..." (p 99). This enables him to differentiate among:

Non-exclusive identities exemplified by the Dravidian Oraons finding "an easy acceptance of Austric languages and creolised versions of neighbouring Indo Aryan languages;

Flexibility of ingroup/outgroup relations marked by "plasticity or malleability" of self-images and socio-cultural identities, as in the case of North-eastern tribes, and the Gonds, Bhils, etc.;

Overlapping language boundaries specific of "oral cultures" which overlap conventional language boundaries, as in the case of Halabi of Bastar, which can be treated as a dialect of Marathi or Hindi;

Neutralisation in communications exemplified by the development of "communication amalgams" like Nagamese and Nagpuria;

Sociolinguistic core signifying the maintenance of grammatical and stylistic features despite close interaction among many tribal languages, such as the retention of counting in units of twenty and greater frequency of reduplication and 'echo' words in some tribal languages.

This reviewer totally agrees with the author that

"the elitist system of education does not take into account the rich complexity of speech variations ... at folk level... Literate cultures ... regard hybrid varieties... as a sign of inferior socialisation ... Most of the standardisation devices in Indian languages today serve only to extend the convention inspired value system of small urban elites" (p 102).

The author's caution deserves emphasis: "it will be disastrous to aim at absorbing them (the tribal communities) into the 'mainstream'. (*Ibid.*)

Comments. The statistical base is provided exclusively by the Census data. Tribal languages spoken by populations less than 10,000 have been treated as "vernaculars" of various languages; this excludes the consideration of most of the tribal communities of Peninsular India. Census categories and classifications are subject to vagaries of reportage; for example, the Mudugar of Attapady and the Muthuvar of Idukky have been clubbed together even though they are distinct communities speaking different languages. There have been several cases of non-tribal communities returning themselves as "tribal" in desperate efforts to claim the benefits of reservation, etc. Thus the variations in the successive Census returns of speakers of various tribal languages, which the author treats as examples of "vacillation", are probably only fraudulent! "Tribal Identity" is pictured purely in a linguistic dimension. Language is of course an index of culture, and perhaps its most faithful mirror, but there are many more aspects. This book has done invaluable service in exploring at least this dimension, correlating language with quite a few sociological parameters.

The book is a mine of information, and contains a plethora of ideas, but seems to have been written in a hurry. It is in a condensed style with considerable use of jargon, which makes it difficult reading for a person interested in tribal problems but not a scholar in sociolinguistics. It is hoped that the author will bring out a "Revised and Enlarged" edition defining the concepts and in a more explanatory rather than the present didactic style.

T. MADHAVA MENON

I.S.D.L

Obituary

R.N. SRIVASTAVA: A TRIBUTE

R.S. GUPTA

Jawaharlal Nehru University

In the early hours of October 3, 1992 death snatched away from us a friend and a mentor, and cut short an illustrious career which had already contributed so much to the national and international academic world, and which held forth a promise of much greater things to come.

Professor R.N. Srivastava or R.N.S or simply Doc Sahab as his colleagues, friends, students and admirers variously referred to him, was born in 1936 in Balia (U.P) in a highly cultured and educated family. From his early youth he showed great academic promise. Starting as a science student at Banaras Hindu University he went on to earn his Bachelor's degree in Law. He followed this with a Master's degree in Hindi literature and linguistics. After two years of research at Banaras (under a U.G.C. Fellowship), he won a government of India scholarship to study in the U.S.S.R. From 1962 to 1965 he studied linguistics at Leningrad State University, leading to the award of Doctoral Degree. This was followed by a stint as lecturer in linguistics at Delhi University. In 1968 he was awarded the Ford Foundation Post-Doctoral Fellowship, which took him to U.C.L.A (U.S.A) for one year. There he worked with the eminent phonetician Peter Ladefoged. On his return to Delhi he was elevated to the Post of Reader in the department of Linguistics. From 1973 to 1976 he served the Central Hindi Institute as Professor and Centre-In charge at Delhi, and rejoined Delhi University's Linguistics department as Professor in 1976. This was the post he held till his untimely and tragic death in October, 1992.

During this career as a teacher, a researcher and a linguist, spanning over a quarter of a century, professor Srivastava earned the respect and admiration of all who came in contact with him in their capacity as colleagues and students. What impressed everyone about this man was his total commitment to linguistics. He lived and worked during an era which saw tremendous expansion of horizons in linguistics. New theories, new models and ever-increasing domains of applied linguistics emerged during this period, and it was a true indicator of the greatness and versatility of Prof. Srivastava that he assimilated all the diverse trends in linguistic thought, voraciously accumulating all that was being thought and written. He did not stop there, but went on to interpret and integrate the western and the eastern, the new and the old and to understand all

this in relation to the complex multilingual mosaic of India. In an age of specializations, here was a man who defied any labels; he was a phonetician, a phonologist, a grammarian, a sociolinguist, an applied linguist, a stylistician, a literacy expert and above all, a linguist in the true sense of the term.

Those around him, private individuals, as well as government agencies and institutions, recognised his versatility, his commitment and his great eagerness to share his expertise generously. As a result, recognition and honours came easily to him. He was much sought after by the Central and State institutions all over India- C.I.I.L., C.H.I., C.I.E.F.L., N.C.E.R.T. and others relied heavily on his advice and his expertise. The Government of India regularly invited him in advisory capacity to be part of its Language Advisory Committees, whether it was in the Ministry of Railways or in the Department of Science and Technology or the Ministry of Education. Boards of Education, likewise, sought his advice and opinion, the prime beneficiary being the Central Board of Secondary Education. Within the University, he was Chairman of the Board of Research Studies, a member of the Academic Council and of the Court of Delhi University.

Along with the growing national recognition, came international recognition in an equal measure. As a tribute to his commitment to literacy and language education, he was selected to represent India at various conferences, seminars and Committees under the aegis of UNESCO (Paris 1975 and 1977, Baku 1981, Tokyo 1982 and Madrid 1985). His contribution to sociolinguistics led to an invitation to teach as Visiting professor at the University of Illinois, Urbana (USA) in 1988. This was followed by a spell as Visiting Professor at Universitario Orientale at Napoli (Italy) in 1989.

Prof. Srivastava was currently the President of Linguistic Society of India (LSI). Earlier he was President of the Dravidian Linguistic Association (DLA), Secretary of the Universal Digital Communication Research Institute (UDCRI), Vice- President of the Lexicographical Society of India (LXSI), member of the executive committee of Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti (Wardha) and Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Samiti (Madras). He was also the Organising Secretary of the III Vishwa Hindi Sammelan (Delhi). In addition Prof. Srivastava conducted several research programmes funded by U.N.E.S.C.O and U.N.I.C.E.F.

While meeting all these heavy demands that institutions and Government agencies made on his time and energy, Prof. Srivastava continued his own research and above all, his teaching which all along remained his first love. In his 25 years of teaching and research supervision professor Srivastava created a whole generation of students, researchers and teachers who now occupy various academic positions in India and abroad. As a teacher Professor Srivastava not only kept in touch with the latest developments in his chosen discipline, but also generously shared his knowledge, his research ideas and his new insights with his students and associates. It is a measure of the man's greatness as a teacher

that hundreds of his students remember him with reverence and love and give him credit for making them what they are today.

Professor Srivastava not only taught a whole generation of students and researchers, but himself carried out significant researches in linguistics, bringing within his ambit various theoretical and applied dimensions. He read voraciously, imbibed and assimilated what he read and wrote copiously on all imaginable aspects of language, linguistics and literature. During his life-time he wrote over two hundred learned articles dealing with phonetics and phonology, syntax, semantics, semiotics, stylistics, sociolinguistics, literacy, language education and language in literature. His special love for and commitment to Hindi led him to write several books in and on Hindi.

It was a matter of great wonder to many of us who knew him closely, how he could find time for all this with all his reading and writing, his teaching and research, his travels and his commitments as advisor to so many public and private institutions. Professor Srivastava always had enough time for his friends, acquaintances and admirers. He loved to socialize and would never say no to a small group getting together informally for spirited discussions. He was also a devoted father and husband, a real family-man ever concerned with the welfare of his kith and kin. What was perhaps most remarkable about this man - a man whom people sought out and invited for meetings, talks, discussions, selections and social-occasions- was that he himself was a great host and loved to call friends, students and admirers over and treat them at his own place, at his own expense and all this with a great deal of open-heartedness, bon homie and generosity.

Perhaps we are too close to him in time and spirit to truly evaluate his true worth as an academician and a man, but if one were to go by the testimony of hundreds of students, researchers, colleagues and friends, in Professor Srivastava's death the academic world has suffered an irreparable loss, and for those who were close to him, he has left behind a void that perhaps can never be filled.

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18th Conference of Dravidian Linguists at Kanyakumari - 1990

In a quite place a peaceful and academically satisfactory Conference took place from 19th to 21st of April, 1990.

Prof. B. Ramachandra Rao, former Vice-Chairman, U.G.C. and the current Chairman of the Governing Council of the ISDL unveiled the oil painting of G.J. Somayaji and inaugurated the Conference. He recalled G.J. Somayaji's contribution as a Scholar and as a humane professor. Dr. Balamohan Thampi, Vice-Chancellor, Kerala University who inaugurated the Endowment Lectures on "Word Philosophy" summarized the findings of the Oxford School with witty anecdotes. Dr. E. Annamalai, the President of the DLA had a detailed address on the Tribal Bilingualism. Dr. G.K. Panicker introduced the guests as well as the work of the DLA, ISDL etc., M. Rama proposed a vote of thanks covering the focus of the address.

Most fascinating feature of the Conference is the large attendance of research scholars from the Universities from the Southern States and I.I.T, Kanpur.

Theoretically oriented papers were few, but data oriented papers were many. Paralinguistic papers including Folklore, Place Names, Terms of scolding etc., were considerable in number.

A serious paper on 'Dravidian Linguistics in Nineteen Eighties and its future prospects' elicited comments in the afternoon of the 19th which was continued in the night upto 10.30 P.M. At least 25 scholars participated.

B.N. Patnaik's paper on Language and Power recalling the pithy words of Kuldip Nayar was interesting. M. Israel covered the suffixal morphology of Naiki. The lunch was hosted by the Management of the S.T. Hindu College, one of the sponsors of the Conference. The lunch table was crowded. Soon the cafeteria improved its service.

The afternoon session continued from 2 p.m. as slated on the printed agenda. A few authors of papers were absent. The latecomers and those who wanted to present their papers early found time for presentation and discussion. In the succeeding days the time for these were reduced.

On 20.4.90 the late comers pressed for accommodating their papers. One

foreigner from Norway did not miss any paper.

On the last day (21.4.90) when the Chief Guest sent word that he will come at 4 p.m. the afternoon session had time after completing the slated papers. One special lecture on Reconstruction of Dravidian Culture was also accommodated which kept the audience intact upto 4 P.M.

Two Endowment Lectures on 'Word Philosophy' by Dr. Kantamani took an hour for reading. On the next day he cut short the reading time and hence there was time for questions and answers. The expectation of the Endowment Lectures was to infect the Linguists with ideas from sister disciplines like Philosophy, Sociology etc. How far it is a success is yet to be assessed.

18th Conference Prizes

Mrs. Katre Prize awarded to Mrs. Srivani of Osmania University who has secured the highest marks in the M.A. in March/April, 1989 examinations. This carried Rs. 250/-. The Endowment was created by Prof. S.M. Katre.

Out of 17 papers submitted by research scholars. Mr. Srikumar, Osmania University was recommended for the award of Rs. 500/- for the best paper presented in the Conference. It should be mentioned that this scholar received the prize in the 1989 Conference at Manipal.

Mr. Sudheer Bhan, Osmania University and Mr. P. Nagaraj of the Hyderabad University received honourable mention by the adjudicators (E. Annamalai, Chairman, B.N. Patnaik and K. Rangan members).

The Valedictory session attracted audiences from the public. Hon. K. Anbazhagan expressed a sense of pride to release the Dravidian Encyclopaedia, Vol. I and to lay the foundation stone for the Manonmani Sundarnar Maligai in the city centre at Trivandrum. He pinpointed the educational opportunity for all, irrespective of the caste distinction provided by the British and emphasized that educational wealth is the only one which will preserve the dignity of man. The Tamil speech was translated by the President E. Annamalai who had earlier reviewed the papers and referred to the large attendance from U.P., Gujarat, Punjab, Delhi, besides from the four Southern States. B. Ramachandra Rao who received the first volume of the Encyclopaedia wished that the ISDL should become a University.

V.I. Subramoniam while introducing the Guests recalled the close association of Hon. K. Anbazhagan with the DLA and ISDL while in power and out of it. L.C. Thanu, the Local Secretary who supervised the arrangements at Kanyakumari ably, proposed the Vote of thanks.

Dr.M. Rama looked after the financial side; K. Balachandran the registration and other requirements of the participants. R. Manu looked after the chief guests, transporting them from Trivandrum to Kanyakumari and back. There was no hitch in the Conference.

19th International Conference of Dravidian Linguists at Thiruvananthapuram - 1991

The conference though planned and announced early to celebrate the completion of nineteen years of the formation of the Dravidian Linguistics Association and the International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics has to be postponed twice: First for the general elections and second due to the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi which necessitated the postponement of the elections. Unfortunately the foreign delegates who committed themselves to come could not be sure of the dates of the Conference. Even one who was in Tiruvananthapuram for his vacation could not attend the Conference due to want of adequate information. The participation of the Indian delegates was modest and the three day Conference was matter of fact and functional.

A big crowd would have put the organizers to difficulty. The modest crowd of 150 on the first day and about 100 and 70 respectively on the second and third days was manageable.

The Tolkaappiyar Auditorium was decorated tastefully. Justice V.S. Malimath (Rtd. Chief Justice of Kerala) in his inaugural address reviewed the Constitutional provisions for the protection of languages and welcomed the move to set up a National University for Dravidian Studies. S.M. Katre who was to be honoured in the Conference could not come. But Prof. Katre was gracious enough to appreciate the difficulties and sent a felicitation address which was read by Dr. G.K. Panikkar.

Prof. B. Ramachandra Rao, former Vice-Chairman of the U.G.C. and Chairman of the General Council of the ISDL presided over the function and unveiled the beautiful oil painting of Prof. S.M. Katre. He also said that the gentle and persuasive ability of S.M. Katre was responsible for the spectacular development of Linguistics which has not spread after his departure from India, but efforts in specialization in Linguistics in some centres have successfully taken place. He concurred with the felicitation address that the ISDL and its beautiful Campus, the IJDL and the DLA are all the results of the Linguistic movement initiated in 1955 in the Deccan College, Pune.

Secretary, M. Rama spoke in Kannada for about ten minutes when he proposed the Vote of thanks and the audience seem to bear with him and understand him, and added equivalent words from Malayalam and Tamil. The tolerance for other languages which is one of the goals of the DLA was demonstrably achieved by the Conference. Also the former Chief Justice remarked on releasing the massive book of the late J.S. Kully, that, could anyone ever imagine that, a book of great value on Kannada can be released from Trivandrum. It is now possible because of the constructive work of the DLA and ISDL.

Dr. B. Gopinathan Nair, Secretary for Publications read out the salient points of the book which has to be bound and put out for sale shortly.

Dr. P. Somasekharan Nair and Dr. A.P. Andrewskutty honoured Prof. B. Rama Chandra Rao and the Justice with shawls. To save flowers the DLA prefers the presentation of the shawls was the comment from the President. Dr. K. Retnamma traced the history of the DLA and IJDL while welcoming the guests.

For the best monograph on Tribals of the Dravidian family, Dr. N. Rajendran, Department of Linguistics, University of Kerala 'On Muduga' shared the prize with K. Natanasabapathy 'On Chola Naiken' Advance Centre for Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar. The prize money of Rs. 1500/- was received in person by the first and the same amount by post by the second.

Ms. Vaijayanti Mala of the J.N. University, New Delhi who topped in the M.A. Examination in Linguistics in India received in absentia the Mrs. S.M. Katre prize of Rs. 250/-

Four Endowments of Rs. 500/- each, were received by Drs. Nagamma Reddy of Hyderabad, Vasantakumari of Madurai and B. Sreedevi of Calicut in person and Rs. 250/- by Dr. Anvita Abby of New Delhi for her inabsentia presentation.

The prize of Rs. 1000/- for the best paper presented in the Conference shared by Ms. Darly Mathew of the Cochin University and Ms. Shoba of the Kerala University was defrayed to them in the valedictory function.

The sessions began soon after the inauguration, Dr.M. Israel of Madurai chaired it along with Dr. Franson D. Manjali of Jawaharlal Nehru University as the Co-Chairman. The papers if not mimeographed and the discussions were recorded for transcription. The first paper was 'an observation on a few early studies on Malayalam by the Missionaries' by Prof. Puthusseri Ramachandran. Dr. Franson. D. Manjali, Dr. S. Rajendran and Dr. K. Retnamma participated in the discussions. Prof. Israel made the concluding remarks on the paper and the second paper "Significance of riddles in Education" was read by Mr. Sasidharan Pillai (Research Scholar, University of Kerala). In the paper he emphasized the need to include riddles in the curriculum as a means to evaluate the intellectual capacity of the students. Dr. Rajendran and Dr. Ramakrishna Reddy commented on the paper. The third paper in the morning session was Prof. Ramakrishna Reddy's 'Language Planning for Tribal Literacy'. In the paper he expressed the idea of teaching the tribes through different media. Participants in the discussions were Dr. P.M. Joseph, Dr. Nagaraj, Dr. S. Rajendran and Mr. Madhava Menon. Later Dr. Anjea was allowed to present an introduction to his paper which was to be presented in full in the afternoon session.

In the afternoon session, the fourth paper of the day was presented by Dr. Aneja entitled 'Integral Grammar of Integral Yoga of Integral Linguistics'. He expressed his views on philosophical Linguistics and said that his paper would be understood only by the Yogis. There was a brief discussion on the

paper initiated by Dr. Franson D. Manjali and followed by Dr. Vijendra. Paper five "Word Order in Khasi" was read by Dr. K.S. Nagaraj. It was discussed in detail in which Dr. S. Rajendran, Dr. William Madtha, Dr. A.P. Andrewskutty, Dr. V.I. Subramoniam and Dr. Venugopala Panikkar expressed their views. Darly Mathew from Cochin University presented a paper on "A Case Study in Translating English articles into Hindi and Malayalam". Some suggestions were made by Dr. Aneja, Dr. Israel and Dr. Andrewskutty.

The first endowment lecture on 'Women's Language' was delivered by Dr. Vasantakumari from the Madurai Kamaraj University. Certain clarifications were sought by Dr. Nagaraj, Dr. Venugopala Panikkar, Dr. Aneja, Dr. Vijendra, Prof. Ramakrishna Reddy, Dr. William Madtha, Mrs. Sangamitra Saha and Dr. A.P. Andrewskutty. The second endowment lecture was given by Dr. Nagamma Reddy and Dr. Andrewskutty took part in the discussion.

Dr. V.I. Subramoniam made some introductory remarks on the 'Un-structured Panel on the Gaps in our Knowledge' on the evening session. Mr. Madhava Menon initiated the talk saying that the theme is very wide hence he would limit the discussion on what we can call the term Dravidian. He said that there could be several features unidentified in connection with the term 'Dravidian'. Prof. M.E. Manickavasagom spoke on the need to reconstruct Culture as we do in Linguistics. Annie Monsy emphasized that a thorough study of the Tribal languages is essential for a proper understanding of the linguistic features of the Dravidian languages. Mrs. Sangamitra Saha gave some information by comparing a few words in the Dravidian language family. Dr. William Madtha, the moderator in the discussion summarized the main points in his thought provoking conclusion. The day's activities ended by 6.30 p.m.

On 12.7.91. Friday, the first paper presented was 'Towards a Historical Study of the Lakshadweep Malayalam; Its Phonology' by Dr. Venugopala Panikkar. He gave some interesting observations on phonological changes in the Lakshadweep Dialect of Malayalam. Dr. V.P.N. Namboori, Dr. Nagamma Reddy, Dr. S. Rajendran, Dr. Israel, Dr. V.I. Subramoniam and Dr. William Madtha took part in the discussion that followed.

The paper 'Ontology and Meaning: Some consideration on the category of the case' by Dr. F. Manjali was fairly long comparing traditional Indian and Western Views on Linguistics. (Bhartruhari & Rhenethoms). Dr. Namboori and Prof. Ramakrishna Reddy participated in the discussions. Then Dr. Namboori gave a lecture on "Transition network model of language structure and computer aided language teaching". He gave details of the use of Computer in language learning and some problems that arise in the Computer aided teaching. Dr. B. Sreedevi, Dr. F.D. Manjali, Dr. Aneja, Prof. V.I. Subramoniam, Dr. Ramakrishna Reddy were the participants of the discussion. Two more papers were presented in the morning session. They were Dr. Rajendran's paper on "Word formation in Tamil" and Ms. Pramela K.P's paper on "Comparative Study of Hindi-Malayalam pronouns in Translation".

In the afternoon session, the paper "Equivalence in Translation of Tamil

Traditional Grammar" Vis-a-Vis was presented by Prof. M. Israel on which Dr. V.I. Subramoniam and Dr. Ramakrishna Reddy made some comments. Dr. Subhdramma's paper "Contrastive Analysis of Hindi and Malayalam by accepting Halliday's Theory" was read by the author but there were no comments on it. Dr.N. Vijender's paper entitled "Inter relationship between Synonymy, Antonymy and Polysemy in Telugu" made Dr. Aneja to make some suggestions. The remaining papers presented on the day include "New Trends in Semantics" by B.S. Khaina "Language and Culture" by N.N. Anandan and "Religion as a social variable of speech. "A Case Study" by Dr. Shivanand. There were no discussions on these papers due to want of time.

Later in the evening Prof. H.S. Gill gave his presidential address in which he explained his impressions on "Linguistics and Semiology". This was followed by the official meeting of the DLA. New Office-bearers were elected.

The morning session on 13.7.91. Saturday, started at 9.30 a.m. with Dr. B. Sreedevi's endowment lecture on "Women's language" in which she concentrated mainly in giving out the linguistic features of Women's language. In the discussion that followed, the contributions mainly came from Dr. S. Rajendran, Dr. Aneja, Dr. Venugopala Panikker, Dr. V.P.N. Namboori and Mrs. Sangamitra Saha. Ms. Sobha, a research student of Kerala University presented the paper "an experimentation towards the possibility of automatic language processing". Dr. Namboori only asked some questions on the paper. Prof. S.V. Subramanian gave a lecture on "A few words from Tolkappiyam". Later Mrs. Sangamitra Saha talked on "Reduplication" and the final paper of the Seminar came from Dr. William Madtha on Folklore.

The afternoon session was chaired by Dr. P. Somasekharan Nair. Dr. A.P. Andrews Kutty made a few relevant comments on the International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics (IJDL). He emphasized that researchers should pay attention to the new trends in Linguistic theories and they should be encouraged in writing reviews. Following this Mr. K.C. Sankaranarayanan commented on the gains of the 19th Conference.

The valedictory function was chaired by Prof. V.I. Subramoniam who gave the valedictory address. He evaluated the presented papers and summarized the achievements of the 19th Conference. A few participants, Dr. Aneja and Dr. Nagaraja made useful suggestions on the Conference. Mr. R. Manu, Mr. K. Balachandran and Mr. Raji proposed vote of thanks for the co-operation of the delegates and to the authorities of the St. Xavier's College for providing accommodation to the delegates and to the Management of the Al-Saj hotel for the prompt supply of food which was tasty.

The Conference ended at 4 p.m. on 13.7.91 leaving some cherishing memories behind.

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2. Jain Journal (Jain Bhavan Publications, Calcutta) Vol.27, No.1 & 3 (1992)
3. Kerala Tamil (Trivandrum Tamil Sangam), Vol.15 & 16 No. 4 & 9.
4. Sri Kumarakuruparar (Sri Kaarima[t.jam, Thirupananthan) Vol.15, No. 1 & 7 (1993)
5. Tamizh Marutham(Dr.Sambasivanar, Madurai), Vol.2, No.1 & 11 (1992-'93).

Exchange

1. Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute (Scheduled-Castes and Tribes Welfare Dept, Govt. of West Bengal) Vol.18 No. 1 & 4 (1992)
2. Indian Literature (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi) Vol.35 No.6 1992.
3. Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Vol.34 No. 1-2(1992)
4. Language(Journal of the Linguistic Society of America) Vol.68 No.3 & 4 (1992)
5. Linguistic Abstracts (Basil Blackwell, England) Vol.8 No. 3 & 4 (1992)
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2. Language, Culture and Nation - Building Challeges of Modernisation by Lachman M. Khubchandani, Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1991.
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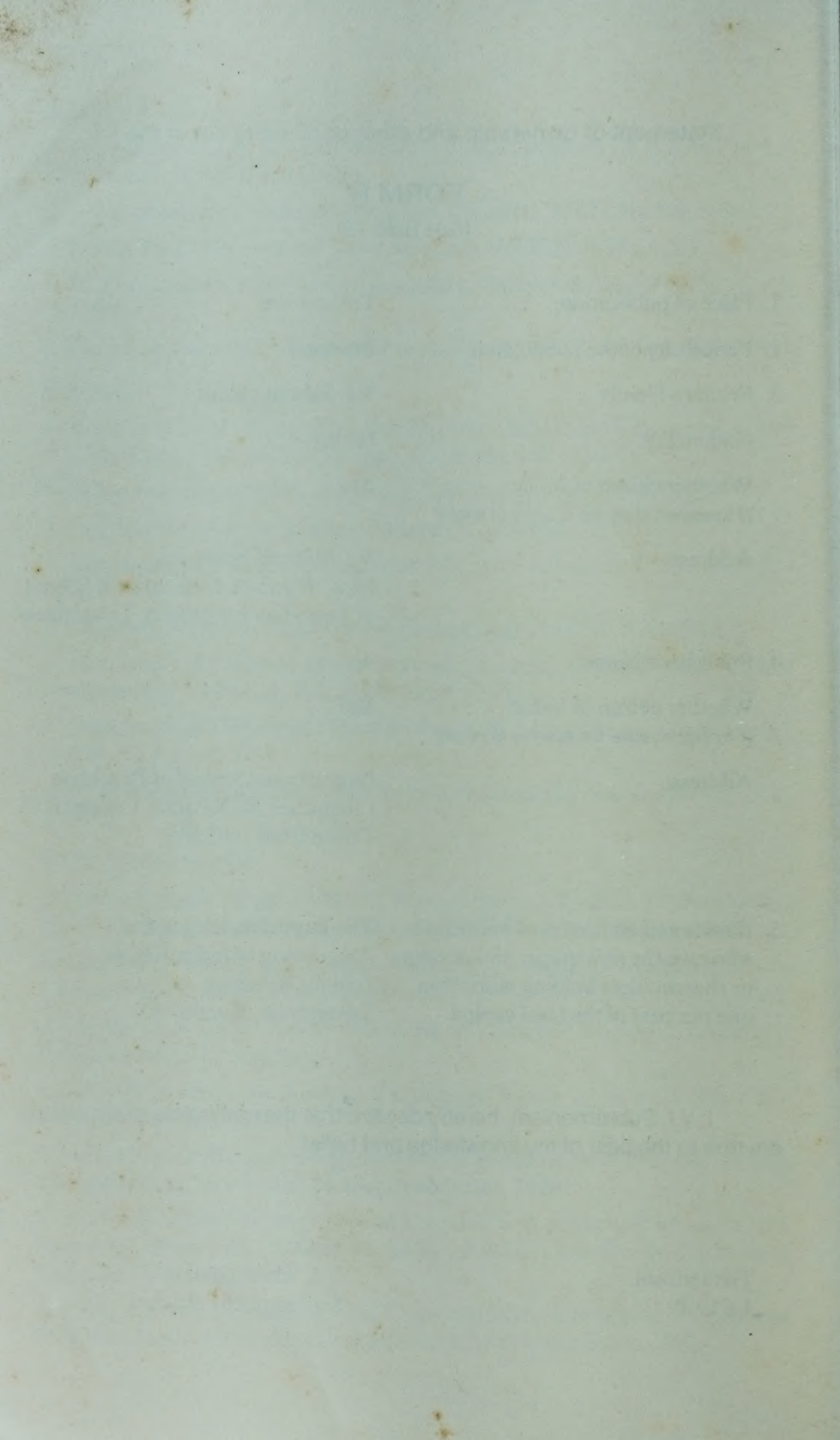
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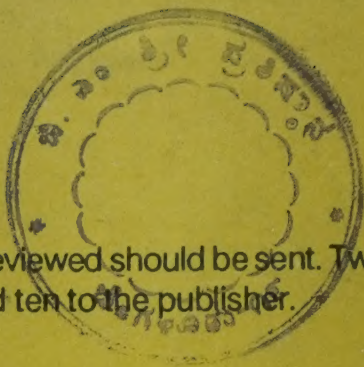
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